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The Week

THE Congress which has just come to the end of its labors achieved little constructive legislation of any importance. Surveying its record, one is divided between regret at opportunities wasted and gratitude that it did not pass an even larger amount of undesirable legislation than it did. Already the correspondents are predicting that, on a basis of the showing they have made, the Republicans are sure to lose their narrow margin of power in the elections this fall, and that the next session will be dominated by a progressive-Democratic coalition. We agree that this is likely, and on the whole regret it: our feeling about the Coolidge administration is that it should be given all the rope possible. If for the next two years Mr. Coolidge is unable to control a majority in the House and Senate, he will have an admirable alibi by which to explain to the voters his failure to do anything during that time.

THE Republicans in going into the November elections will have three main achievements to point to. One of these, the $350,000,000 reduction in taxes, is probably a political asset, despite the fact that so great a reduction was unwise in view of the condition of the national finances, and the further fact that the greater part of the reduction is for the benefit of the rich. The other two —the resolution of adherence to the Permanent Court of International Justice and the Italian debt settlement—in most parts of the country will prove to be political liabilities. The enemies of "foreign entanglements" do not like our participation in the World Court; while the friends of the Court are justly annoyed at the crippling reservations made by the Senate. The objections to the Italian debt settlement are familiar to our readers and need not be repeated here. The other main "achievements" of the late Congress are four in number. It threw out Senator Brookhart, on political grounds and ignoring the question whether he had been legally elected or not. It investigated prohibition, spreading hundreds of thousands of words upon the record. We have yet to hear of a single individual who was changed from wet to dry, or vice versa, by this mass of evidence. It also investigated the Pennsylvania primary election, and did a fine service thereby. Finally, it passed a law abolishing the Railroad Labor Board and providing a new and important machinery for the arbitration of disputes.

THE list of things left undone is, of course, much longer than that of accomplishments. At its head comes farm relief, and close behind, legislation to prevent further coal strikes. Congress gave no relief to the alien owners of sequestered property. It took no action on Muscle Shoals, or on railway consolidation. The Lausanne treaty remains unratified. The Rivers and Harbors bill was not passed. The proposal that successful candidates for Congress should be barred if it were shown that excessive expenditures had been made in their behalf was one of many measures which were swamped in the last minute rush. If this enumeration makes you feel gloomy, you may cheer your-

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self up by remembering that the next session is sure to be much worse. With neither party commanding a clear majority in either house, as seems almost certain to be the case, and with attention distracted by a Presidential election in the offing, the prospect that much valuable legislation will be passed is, to put it cautiously, very slight.

FASCISM in Italy continues to be drastic, whether or not effective. Not content with having silenced all opposition in the press, it now suppresses all but official party or government papers and confines these to a few pages of colorless official bulletins and censored news items. We can imagine with what wry faces the terrorized editors praise —in public—this measure, which is supposed to be undertaken in the interest of economy. Would the entire budget of the Italian press pay the interest on the American debt, we wonder? Next, the normal working hours throughout the dictated realm are increased from eight to nine. In view of scientific conclusions regarding fatigue and efficiency, this can hardly increase production much. Doubtless it does have the effect of reducing wage earnings in factories where extra rates for overtime obtain, and which habitually work more than eight hours. And finally, Mussolini discourages emigration and says he hopes it can eventually be stopped entirely by finding work for Italians at home. The greater the number of laborers working at reduced wages, the more Italy can pay foreign investors. More and more Italy comes to present the appearance of a peon state, driven to toil in order to produce the requisite interest on her large and increasing debts.

THOUGH some may have forgotten it, in 1920 Congress passed a Transportation act, one of the essential features of which was that railroads earning in excess of a fair return on their value—both rate of return and value to be fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission—must pay into a central fund one-half of the excess. For nearly six years now the recapture clause has been practically inoperative. Why? Because no railroads have had extraordinary earnings? By no means. It was because the finding and the validation in the courts of a "fair valuation" for each carrier is such a long and intricate process. Rates also are supposed to be fixed on the basis of a fair valuation, but for this purpose the Commission was allowed to fix a "tentative value" pending the ascertainment of the final value. The Commission is now trying a similar procedure in order to begin the recapture of earnings. The railroads, however, are fighting it. Value for recapture purposes, they say, must rest on the cost of reproduction at the time of recapture—otherwise recapture involves confiscation. But it is quite impossible for the Commission or any other body to revalue every railroad every year on the basis of engineers' detailed estimates of the cost of reproducing it. If this principle were established, recapture could never work and another big hole would be knocked in the Transportation act. The cost-of-reproduction theory of value, here as well as with other utilities, threatens to make impossible any effective public regulation.

A NEW development of company unionism is the strike of the New York subway motormen and switchmen. After defeating the regular A. F. of L. street car union, the Interborough Rapid Transit Company some years ago kindly formed for its employes a Brotherhood strictly its own, from which all "outside" leadership was barred. It then proceeded to make "contracts" concerning wages and employment with its own creature. After its formation the company union engaged in one brief strike which was compromised at a slightly higher wage level; strong suspicions were entertained at the time that this strike was a conspiracy of the company to create an excuse for asking higher fares. Now the motormen and switchmen, dissatisfied with the company union and the wages it has established, have revolted, formed an independent union, and gone out. Though they were willing to arbitrate, and though the Transit Commission made every effort to obtain arbitration, the management of the company refused. On what ground? Because, explains the virtuous Mr. Hedley, the company Brotherhood will not tolerate dealings with an "outlaw" union and he must keep his contract with the Brotherhood. Meanwhile, even before the Brotherhood had taken its stand, a professional strikebreaking agency was importing strikebreakers by the hundred; the same papers which carried the news of the refusal to arbitrate printed pictures of these guerillas in their quarters. Propaganda by the company to the effect that the strike is merely a revolt of certain crafts against the less skilled is effectively answered by the presence of many of the less skilled among the strikers. Ingenious indeed are the modern labor-cheating devices.

IN spite of the long study and report of the Governor's commission of investigation and mediation, trouble has again broken out among the New York women's garment workers. The refractory element in the situation is, as it has been for several years, the jobbers. These large houses compete with the legitimate manufacturers in selling to the trade, but on the other hand do not manufacture in their own shops. Though they set styles, furnish patterns and materials, and assume many of the responsibilities of the ordinary manufacturer, they escape his responsibility to labor by engaging small contractors to do their work. Keen competition among these contractors depresses labor standards and injures the legitimate manufacturers who have shops of any size and manageability. The struggle of the union has been to enforce upon the jobbers

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a real responsibility for maintaining wages, hours and other conditions. The Governor's commission took certain steps in this direction, but did not go as far as the union believed necessary. The present strike is the result. The confusion of the industry presents a difficult problem to direct action, but by a series of protracted struggles in the past the union has succeeded in overcoming just as obstinate entanglements. We can do no more than wish it well.

PUBLIC opinion has won a skirmish with the War Department in the matter of compulsory military training. In the discussion of the subject, it will be remembered that particular attention was directed to the passages in the manuals instructing young soldiers in the use of the bayonet, with particular emphasis upon the state of mind necessary to give it fatal effect. These passages gave the lie direct to the pretense of the War Department that the object of military training was not to make soldiers. Now the Department announces that it abolished bayonet training and combat practice last January by the following order: "In no case will the R. O. T. C. instruction include the subject of bayonet training and combat practice. In the future, private publications containing such matter, other than literal extracts of training regulations, will not be used as textbooks of the R. O. T. C. units."

IN the June issue of the National Municipal Review there appears an article entitled, Is there a Vicious Circle of Transit Development and City Congestion? The author is Daniel L. Turner, consulting engineer for the New York Transit Commission, and his answer to his own question is a robust Yes. He recites in detail the history of rapid transit in New York since the first subway was built twenty-three years ago, and proves by figures that never once has the opening of a new line given the relief from congestion which was expected. What happens, Mr. Turner points out, is a real estate boom along the route of every subway. New buildings, both residential and business, are constructed to take advantage of the new improved transit facilities. The result is that congestion becomes even worse than before and the purpose for which the new line was ostensibly built is invariably defeated. How easily this can take place, Mr. Turner shows:

> A business building can be erected on a single block that will accommodate a circulating population in and out of over 100,000 people in a day, or will easily supply space for 15,000 workers in the building, who, in turn, will saturate over four times the sidewalk space and ten times the roadway space normally available around it, and will also require one-fifth of the full capacity of an existing four-track subway to serve it in the rush hours. Five such buildings would fully utilize the entire capacity of a four-track subway.
>
> A single big shop can be built on another block that will serve 75,000 customers a day, or coming and going will create 150,000 transit passengers. And in the residence sections block after block of home barracks ten and fifteen stories high will develop a population density at the rate of fourteen to fifteen hundred people per acre. It does not take much of this kind of land-use to saturate all of the rapid transit facilities that can possibly be constructed through any given area. . . .
>
> To continue the transit policy of paralleling and duplicating existing facilities, and thereby permitting and encouraging the areas served to develop almost without limit for both residence and business purposes in my judgment is fraught with dangerous consequences to the city. Our street systems will soon be strangled. Neither the sidewalks nor the roadways of the streets will be able to accommodate the traffic that will be produced. The city's fire protection machinery will not be able to function and consequently the fire hazards will be greatly increased. The public health will be jeopardized and the congestion problems of all kinds that are developed will soon become a public menace.

THE remedies Mr. Turner suggests are familiar ones to readers of the New Republic, having been urged repeatedly in our pages. We must either, he says, limit additional building in congested areas, thus balancing traffic with transit facilities, or we must change our policy and build new transit facilities through outlying unpopulated areas, allowing new residential and business areas to spring up as a result. The fact is, as Mr. Turner would doubtless agree, we shall have to do both things in a number of American cities before very long. The condition of traffic saturation which he envisages is not far from a reality in New York, and coming rapidly nearer in other municipalities. Competent authorities estimate that street congestion wastes $35,000 a day in a city as small as Worcester, Mass.; $100,000 a day in Cincinnati; $300,000 a day in Chicago; $1,000,000 in New York. The general public does not yet realize that congestion cannot be "relieved"; and public officials in many places are still busily engaged in applying this supposed palliative which in fact merely aggravates the disease. However, education is now proceeding at an accelerated pace, in the painful school of experience.

MEN can—and do—differ about the ultimate value of the work the League of Nations has performed in rehabilitating the finances of Hungary; but there can be no two minds about the action of the League administrator, Jeremiah Smith of Boston, in refusing the $100,000 salary for his two years' work. It was a fine and generous deed, performed in exactly the right way. It should help a little to restore America's prestige in Europe, at such a sadly low ebb of late; and this is especially likely to be true if the funds are used, as indicated, in sending Hungarian students to American universities. Before this Bostonian had been in Hun-

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gary six weeks, a new verb was in use in Budapest: *to smith,* meaning to toil hard and unceasingly. We should not be surprised if a new and much more pleasant meaning were now attached to this verb.

Is the Coolidge Star Waning?

IS Mr. Coolidge slipping? Are his popularity and influence with his party and the country in general declining? Is it becoming increasingly unlikely that he will receive the Republican nomination in 1928; and if he does obtain it, is there any likelihood that he will fail of reëlection?

More than one political observer, particularly among the Democrats and progressives, answers all these questions with an emphatic, not to say jubilant, Yes. That point of view will be found vigorously expressed in our own Washington correspondence this week. There is, as anyone must agree, an impressive list of items which can be paraded in support of the contention. In primary elections throughout the country recently Coolidge candidates have suffered smashing defeats: McKinley in Illinois, Pepper in Pennsylvania, Stanfield in Oregon, Cummins in Iowa, Hanna in North Dakota. On top of this, the revelations in Pennsylvania have shown that money was poured out both by the administration candidate and his successful opponent to influence the election in a reckless and shameless exhibition of debauchery which can hardly be paralleled in American history. As soon as the facts about the Illinois primary are made public, evidence already in hand leaves little doubt that an equally black picture will be painted in that state. Never has the connection between the money power and politics been more frankly displayed; the dullest citizen cannot fail to recognize its existence and its baleful effect on our whole system of political democracy.

The President's record of achievement in persuading the late Congress to do his bidding is one in which he can take little pride. He succeeded in getting through a revenue law reducing taxes far more than was wise, in view of our debt burden, and benefiting the rich at the expense of the poor. The proposal for American adherence to the World Court which he inherited from Mr. Harding was put through the Senate with such crippling reservations that it is still doubtful whether the other nations in the Court will accept them. Debt settlements have been ratified with several countries, the only important one, that with Italy, being a disingenuous and in the long run unworkable agreement. With these exceptions, Mr. Coolidge did not succeed in getting through a single important piece of legislation on his list. Farm relief, the prevention of coal strikes, railroad consolidation, reorganization of the Shipping Board, the restoration of alien property, new prohibition regulations, Muscle Shoals, the Lausanne treaty with Turkey—on all these matters his pleas went unheeded. One important step was taken in the abolition of the old Railroad Labor Board and the substitution of new and improved machinery for arbitration, but this was done at the instigation of the interested parties with very little aid from the White House. On farm legislation, as our readers know, the President's record is disastrous. Having first opposed the Haugen bill on principle, he swung completely around at the last minute, for political reasons only, and endorsed the Fess bill. He failed to command the support even of regular Republicans. The bill was defeated in the Senate fifty-four to twenty-six; and among the twenty-one Republicans who defied the President's wishes were such ordinarily loyal party men as Senators Pepper and Reed of Pennsylvania, Cummins and Watson.

We do not need to tell our readers that the New Republic has never accepted the great Coolidge myth as having any foundation in fact. The opinion of him which is now generally held by those who have had the best opportunity to judge his actions is one which this paper has consistently maintained from the beginning. But the important question is not what are the real facts about him, but what do the rank and file of the voters think of him now? And what will they think in 1928?

The latter question is one which luck will answer, to a great extent. It is the fashion in America to give credit to the national administration when times are good and censure when they are bad, even though the federal government may in fact have had nothing to do with either. At present, the country is fairly prosperous with the exception of agriculture. The farmer's condition may improve; if it does, it will be the result of pure accident but Mr. Coolidge will get the credit and much of the present discontent in the Middle West will disappear. Most farmers are by nature rather conservative than otherwise. They become radical only under pressure of circumstance and revert to kind when that pressure is removed. What is more likely to happen, however, is that the farmer's plight will remain severe, and the rest of the country pass through a painful period of retrenchment. Such a development would of course militate against the Coolidge candidacy.

The President is by now thoroughly unpopular with many leaders of his party, particularly those whom he thrust aside to make room for his own little Massachusetts clique. Undoubtedly the former would be glad to see the nomination go to someone else, if it could be managed. But can it? The prestige of the President—any President—in party politics is all but irresistible. He controls a vast amount of patronage. He rules the National Committee of his party. In the case of Mr. Cooldige he has ready access to great financial

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resources, a fact which is hardly surprising in view of what he has done for the capitalists.

Moreover, even those Republican politicians who oppose him want to win in 1928. It is true that, normally, a Republican nomination is now tantamount to election. The Democrats are now not only definitely a minority party but one which seems bent on eliminating itself entirely. Still, no election is a foregone conclusion. If Mr. Coolidge were to be discarded, his successful rival ought to be, potentially at least, as strong a candidate as himself. Who is there in the Republican ranks possessing this qualification?

It is argued, of course, that the Pennsylvania and Illinois scandals will have a disastrous effect on the Coolidge prestige. No doubt it is true that the country has been shocked as it never was over the even more disgraceful episodes of the Harding régime. But cynical politicians know that the public's memory is short. They succeeded once by maintaining that Mr. Coolidge was personally innocent; they have at least a fighting chance of doing the same again. The fact that he has made a fixed policy of refusing to take any open personal part in state campaigns will aid them.

Nothing could be more unsafe than to assume that because the voters have discovered bribery and corruption among the Republicans, they will vote some other ticket. No doubt in 1924 there were thousands who disapproved of what had been going on in the Interior Department and the Attorney General's office, yet could not bring themselves to vote Democratic, or were frightened by the false cry of bolshevism raised in connection with the La-Follette campaign. The decision of the voter at the polls is always the result, not of a simple choice, but of a "parallelogram of forces." And the Republicans are in a strategic position to rig that parallelogram of forces in their own favor.

It would be the height of folly to forget that Mr. Coolidge, not as he is, but as he is supposed to be, has had an enormous personal popularity throughout the country, and that even though it may be diminished, it is still a potent political force. Many factors have contributed to that popularity. There was the legend of the poor farm boy, so thoroughly in line with the American tradition. There was the false tale of heroism in the Boston police strike, appealing to every citizen who has wanted to talk back to a policeman and been afraid to. There was the obvious fact that he was suddenly, accidentally pitchforked into the biggest job in the country without having particularly aspired to it. There was the reaction from his over-florid, sweet and sentimental predecessor, a reaction which made Mr. Coolidge's cold apathy seem as refreshing as a pickle on a humid summer day. Most important of all, the momentary mood of the country was one to which his personality was the perfect complement. He seemed to the common man to typify the old American virtues: economy, simplicity, hard work and silence. He represented, it was vaguely felt, the America of a generation ago, of the old Anglo-Saxon stock, an America which has unaccountably and lamentably disappeared in these days of jazz, flappers and bootleggers. His activities as the servant of big business, his assiduous efforts to make America the millionaire's paradise, passed unnoticed, or were actively approved by persons who shared his philosophy even though they could not benefit and were sure to suffer from the results of his policies.

Finally, he has been the full beneficiary of a state of mind which also operated in lesser degree on behalf of his two immediate predecessors. America has shown in recent years a disturbing tendency to deify its Presidents, holding them to be more than human and certainly not subject to the criticism and condemnation leveled against other men. It is as though in this vast and seething country men instinctively feel that they need a figurehead, something to which they can pray with no dangerous and upsetting possibility that their prayers will be answered. Therefore they have set up an anthropomorphic deity in the White House. Whatever he says is possessed of divine wisdom, no matter how foolish or wrong it might be on the lips of anyone else; his person is sacrosanct; when he makes a mistake or is guilty of meanness or venality, the fault must at once be attributed to some convenient scapegoat. It is perhaps proper that the President's views should be disseminated in the third person, and through the lips of a non-existent Spokesman; they are by common consent regarded as the utterances of a Delphic oracle.

This state of mind, which exists more widely and seriously than anyone can realize who has not investigated national public opinion at first hand, will be of great help to Mr. Coolidge in dissociating him from the scandals of 1926, and even in moderating the resentment of the indignant farmers. The Congress may be damned; the Republican party may have the vials of wrath poured out upon it, and the President will still escape unscathed, through a general feeling that after all he probably did his best but was thwarted by "those politicians"; and that he *is* the President.

It is, then, in our judgment, too early for reliable predictions as to the part Mr. Coolidge will play in the campaign of 1928. Much depends upon luck; much depends upon the character of the opposition to him and the issues around which the battle is joined. If the Democrats repeat their blunders of 1924, his chances will be immensely stronger; and the Democrats, like the Bourbons, seem to learn nothing and forget nothing. Mr. Coolidge's star is waning, undoubtedly, and the process thus begun is likely to be increasingly rapid; but it would be dangerous in the extreme for his opponents to assume that he is not still a very formidable antagonist.

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The Last Battle of the Franc

CAN the French franc be prevented from falling further, or from entirely disappearing down the vortex of inflation? This is a technical question about which economists and financiers are disagreed. Yet the importance of the answer is such that the attention of all to it is warranted. France is today the centre of military power on the Continent. Far from liberal as her policy has been, it could be much more disturbing to European recovery and world peace under a Fascist or a Communist dictatorship such as might follow a financial crash. American relations with Europe are also directly involved, through the debt and loans, and through the fact that in a period of receding domestic production our exports across the Atlantic have already fallen by a quarter under last year and may drop still more. No political or economic crisis in the world today bears greater import.

One school of thought on the subject is represented in this country by Dr. B. M. Anderson, Jr., economist of the Chase National Bank. Doctor Anderson contends that the stabilization of the franc somewhere near the present level is a manageable problem. He recognizes that it would be futile to try to sustain its foreign exchange value unless the French budget were balanced. If expenses of the government consistently exceeded revenues, and it were therefore forced to continue its borrowing from the Bank of France, new notes would have to be printed, the circulation would increase and inflation would proceed. It would be an impossible task to attempt to hold up the foreign exchange value of the currency while the internal value was indefinitely falling. But he believes that a balance of the budget is in sight without any further drastic measures.

This will occur, he thinks, as an automatic result of the inflation which has already been caused. On the one hand the government will receive more francs in tax collections as prices rise. This increase will not come from direct taxes—such as income levies—which are calculated on the basis of the previous year's status, but from indirect taxes which are paid on current sales of commodities and the like. On the other hand the government will not have to spend as much more as it receives. This arises from the fact, alleged by Doctor Anderson, that 53 percent of the outlays are for interest on the internal debt, which consists of a fixed number of francs, and for pensions. Other expenses of the government of course increase with inflation. If, therefore, a large enough proportion of revenue is derived from indirect taxation and a large enough proportion of expenditure is paid to domestic bondholders and pensioners, inflation brings a budget balance nearer, and thus cures itself.

This position is substantially the same as that set forth in our pages some weeks ago by Mr. John Maynard Keynes, who advised the French to use the gold reserve of the Bank of France to sustain foreign exchange while waiting for a rise of internal prices to bring about a budget balance. It is the same as that of the French experts who tried in vain to persuade former Governor Robineau of the Bank of France to consent to this policy. It is probably the same as that of Finance Minister Caillaux, who forced out Governor Robineau and put in a management willing to stake the gold reserve on such a gamble. With the reserve behind him, Caillaux is reported to have tried to secure the assistance of the Bank of England and the Federal Reserve Bank of New York in supporting the exchange. He is also reported to have sought an agreement for a stabilization loan from American bankers in return for ratification of the debt agreement. Briand has been agitating for ratification of the debt agreement so that American finance would come to the rescue. This whole course of action must, unless it is either stupid or highly disingenuous, be based on the supposition that the budget can be balanced.

Let us therefore look more carefully at Doctor Anderson's contention. First as to the supposed rise in governmental receipts as prices rise in France. We now have official figures of receipts for the first five months of 1926. These show that revenues are already falling behind the estimates on which the budget act of April 29 was based. Direct taxes Doctor Anderson assumed would be no smaller as prices rose. As a matter of fact, for the first five months of the year they fall 490,000,000 francs short of the budget estimate for the period. How about other receipts? Indirect taxes did indeed total 784,000,000 more than the estimate. But another group of receipts, including revenue from government monopolies and customs, fell 701,000,000 short of the estimates. We therefore have a net increase of 83,000,000 in receipts from indirect taxes and the like, to offset a reduction of 490,000,000 in receipts from direct taxes. Result—for the first five-twelfths of the year, governmental revenue applicable to 1926 expenses falls some 400,000,000 short of the estimate, instead of being larger than was expected.

It is true that special taxes levied by the law of December 4, 1925, have in addition brought in 2,524,000,000 francs. But these receipts must be applied to the 1925 deficit. They have and will cut heavily into the receipts applicable to 1926 expenses. If past deficits did not have to be met, the power to collect this extra amount would ease things considerably. But probably by 1927 a like amount will have to be collected to meet a 1926 deficit.

For expenses will be considerably larger than Doctor Anderson has supposed. Not 53 percent, but only 50 percent of the appropriations are for interest and pensions payable in a fixed number of francs, since Doctor Anderson failed to exclude from his total nearly a billion and a half francs for payment of interest on short-term foreign loans, which must be met in gold, not paper. Pensions,

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moreover, are not fixed by contract as is interest, but may be changed by legislation as the cost of living rises. War pensioners have already succeeded in increasing their receipts, according to Yves Guyot, 68 percent. If we subtract pensions from the fixed debt, we find that 67 percent of the budgeted expenditures, rather than 43 percent, may be expected to rise with internal prices.

Not all the probable expenses are specified in the budget, moreover. One entry which is blank, for certain payments to the wounded, totaled over three billion francs in 1925. Other expenses are not mentioned at all in the budget but are charged directly against the Treasury. It is probable that these will total nearly four billions this year. If we add these items to the budgeted expenses, and account for the probable error in the estimate of revenue, the 1926 deficit becomes anywhere from 8,000,000,000 francs up, according to the amount which inflation increases costs.

In Germany, when the mark was falling, hopes were expressed that the revenues of the government would grow faster than its expenses, but the contrary always proved to be the case. France, in spite of the differences in her situation, seems likely to repeat the same experience. At least it is difficult to see where a budget balance could arise in 1926, or in 1927, for that matter.

It is important both for Frenchmen and for Americans to realize these facts. They mean that France cannot rely on new foreign loans to stabilize the franc, but that she can probably save her currency if at all only by drastic reduction of the interest charges on her internal debt. If enough rentiers could be convinced that this was the only alternative to losing all their capital, they might possibly be brought to consent to partial repudiation. If France does rely on new foreign loans, secured by her gold reserve or her railroads, she may find herself hopelessly in pawn to British or American capital. Americans who really care for the future of France and our friendship with her should be the first to protest against the prospect of such exploitation. That an Anglo-American financial imperium could promote world peace—a belief that is sometimes expressed in high circles of finance—is perhaps the most dangerous delusion of our time.

Foundations and Private Enterprise

NOT long ago the owner of a highly successful chain of low-priced department stores endowed a new foundation, thus emphasizing the already sharp outline of a new habit-pattern in private enterprise as it is practiced in America. This pattern is at first blush not essentially different from that drawn by the traditional economists, but it has sprouted in a direction which demands attention as the beginning of a new style.

According to the old theory, your capable man, who has organizing ability and a desire for riches, sets up a business for the sake of profit. He takes the risk of loss, he works hard, he competes in a free field, and if he is shrewd enough to give the public enough of what the public wants he will be rewarded by the fortune he seeks. Thus is maintained progress and public benefit. Everyone gets what he wants—the customer his goods, the laborer his wage and the proprietor his profit. Just why the capable man wants profit the traditional theory never carefully enquired. Nor did it bother much about what he will do with it. It assumed that everybody enjoys purchasing power for the sake of the goods it commands, and the more the better. Of course it had to recognize that the profit was sometimes piled so high that the owner could not use it all for personal enjoyment—but in that case it assumed that he would benefit the public further by reinvesting it for more production—and for more profit. Charity was merely taken for granted as one of the minor items of personal expenditure.

Now, however, the scale of operations has become so large that a new chapter must be added. As before, the business man undertakes his work and assumes his risk for the sake of profit; when he profits much he reinvests his surplus to increase his business and enlarge his gain. But when the enlarged profit tumbles back on him and he is embarrassed to find a means of using it, he sets up a trust or corporation to dispose of the income for him and his heirs. The plain profit motive seems about to be superseded by the charity motive. Capable men will undertake business enterprise from now on, it would seem, not to make profits, but to establish foundations.

Already, according to a tabulation in the New York Times by Stuart Chase, the benefactions to the larger recorded foundations and endowments total nearly a billion dollars. If the income dispensed from this capital averages 4 percent, we thus have about $40,000,000 annually withdrawn from business earnings and used to command the special types of service and materials which charitable foundations subsidize. This is, of course, entirely apart from the enormous benefactions to independent educational, social or religious institutions, which have long been commonplace. As foundations grow and their original possessors die off, we may normally expect a rapid increase of this use of national resources. Eventually it may be necessary to mark off foundationing as a separate occupation parallel with mining, manufacturing, transportation, trade and government.

The most curious aspect of this new goal of private enterprise is that it partakes of so few of the characteristics of ordinary business. Only with the greatest reluctance and care does the business man separate himself from personal management of his industrial undertakings. Even then he has a rule-of-thumb check on the performances of his

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agents or successors—the amount of the annual profit-and-loss surplus. But he does not fit himself either by education or training to manage a foundation. He immediately entrusts it to the care of individuals chosen neither by close personal observation in a familiar area of activity nor by the application of definite standards. Perhaps more significant than this, the very act of establishing the foundation shows a breach in the business faith. The foundation is by its very nature a non-profit-making concern. To create one is to acknowledge that there are things of importance to be done in society which are not evoked by consumer-demand acting on the profit motive. If this were not so, the capital had better be put into more business. And, in consequence, the performance of the managers and employes of a foundation cannot be judged by the income account. Here the business rule of thumb fails the business man. It is ironical indeed that the crowning achievement, the ultimate justification, of the fortune-builder should lie in a type of institution so far removed from all the standards which have conditioned his own rise to power. He must eventually devote his wealth to an enterprise which he cannot or does not wish to manage, for which he must choose managers not trained in his own profession, and whose whole object and standard of success form a negation of those by which he attained eminence.

Negation, however, is not in itself reassuring. The mere absence of the accustomed way of choosing personnel, of the profit motive, of habitual standards of performance, does not imply that in the foundation the capable man can find a goal worthy of his efforts which he has not found in his business, or that it is a trustworthy agent of service to society in a way that business cannot follow. What reason have we to believe that the caprice of a successful business man or the leanings of his advisers will wisely choose objects of social expenditure? Or that the trustees and staff of the foundation will be well selected? Or that in the absence of the profit-test there is any test of their effectiveness in the chosen pursuit? There is the danger of mere slackness and vacuity, of waste of valuable resources. There is the further danger that in the absence of a positive and self-justifying vitality the foundation will use its immense power merely to further the prejudices or interests of the founder and his class, or to bloat a self-constituted bureaucracy, or at least to flatter institutions which are respectable merely because they exist. These questions are morally important for those responsible for foundations. As the foundations grow in size and influence, the questions are becoming practically of great importance for all of us.

Those who know the areas where the influence of foundations is felt have discovered that such questions are not merely speculative. They are asked, with concrete detail, more and more frequently. Observers of benefactions cannot understand why some objects are favored lavishly and others, seemingly more important or urgent, are passed over. This research organization is snail-like and unproductive, that one pays too much attention to the popular note and too little to scientific thoroughness. Recipients of fellowships or funds are surprised and embarrassed to discover that they are subsidized, not for what they want to do and are fitted to do, but for something different or more vague. There is the subtle influence of conditions attached to gifts. If conditions are not attached, there is uncertainty as to the usefulness of the subsidy. Needless to say, not all the adverse criticisms of foundations can be accepted at their face value; some of them are mutually contradictory. But the important point is that there seems to be no standard by which they may be judged.

Something must be substituted, in such a new and amorphous enterprise as a foundation, for the checks of private enterprise and profit which, meagre and unsatisfactory as they are, still furnish a point of reference for business institutions. This something cannot, of course, be a rigorous or simple set of standards; it cannot be improvised. Much experimentation and floundering is to be forgiven. But large as our economic resources are, they are not limitless, and if criminal waste of the fruits of human toil is to be avoided it is time for the foundations to begin an attempt at self-examination. Since research is such a favorite employment for their funds, this beginning might be a careful survey. Exactly what is being subsidized and to what extent? How well do the subsidies cover the ascertainable needs of the people of America which are not being met in other ways? How can new uses for money and effort best be discovered? What standards can be applied to the operations of a foundation and to its personnel? In what ways and how should it control the use made of its funds? These and similar problems may well be subjects of long controversy, but it is at least time for the raw materials of the discussion to be in hand.

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Exit, the "One-Third Rule"

AFTER hampering the Democratic party for ninety-four years, the one-third rule, so often miscalled the two-thirds rule, seems destined for the discard. Indications are that the movement under way looking to the democratization of Democratic national conventions is almost certain to succeed.

Perhaps the only cloud on the sky is a hinted alteration in the attitude of Tammany. When the majority rule proposal was first made in the early spring of 1926, it met with enthusiastic accord on the part of Mr. Norman Mack, Democratic national committeeman from the Empire state, and there were many other indices that both the Tammany and the progressive groups of the country were of a single mind as to the desirability of majority rule. Here lately, however, one hears of evidences that the Tiger has changed his mind; that now he is unwilling to relinquish the one-third rule; and that the Tammany group will be found giving a very unwilling and reluctant support to an enterprise which at first it so cordially endorsed.

The likelihood is, however, that despite this whispering volte face of Tammany, the movement to ban minority control of Democratic national conventions will be completely successful. Indications from both Middle West, West and South are of a steadfast determination to ban the one-third rule. The Democratic state committees of Iowa, Tennessee, North Carolina, South Dakota and Idaho have already denounced it. The state convention of Washington has done likewise. Only nine of the members of the national committee have favored the retention of this relic of political barbarism. Regardless of the attitude of Tammany, minority rule is not likely to linger longer.

I

Thomas Jefferson, founder of the Democratic party, frequently expressed a belief that majority rule was "the fundamental law of nature, by which alone self-government can be exercised by a majority." So vital did he consider this "sacred principle" that in his first inaugural address he deemed "absolute acquiescence in the decisions of the majority—the vital principle of republics—to be one of the essential principles of our government."

Six years after his death Jefferson's party was diverted from its founder's determination by another great Democrat, Andrew Jackson. A special political necessity caused him to impose the one-third rule upon the Democratic party.

Reasons for the hatred between President Andrew Jackson and Vice-President John C. Calhoun need not be related in this article. Enough that they fired up "Old Hickory" to prevent Calhoun's renomination for Vice-President in 1832. He did so by forcing the Democratic national convention of that year, meeting at Baltimore, to adopt the following rule:

> Resolved, That each state shall be entitled, in the nomination to be made for a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, to a number of votes equal to the number to which they will be entitled in the electoral colleges; and that two-thirds of the whole number of votes in the convention shall be necessary to constitute a choice.

So was born the one-third rule. In 1836 it was extended to cover Presidential nominations. Its course in party history has been unhallowed. A child of hate, its effect has been almost always baneful. Martin Van Buren, its direct beneficiary in 1832 and 1836, was by it deprived of the Presidential nomination in 1844, and thereby the efforts of free-soil Democrats were rebuked.

The one-third rule caused the split of the Democratic party growing out of the Charleston convention in 1860. Lincoln, a minority popular vote candidate, was elected, and the Civil War ensued. But these things are all by the point. The real problem of the one-third rule is not whether it is Jeffersonian or not, not whether the conditions of 1832 justified Andrew Jackson in forcing it, but: What about the one-third rule in the twentieth century?

II

Who is behind the present enterprise to democratize the Democratic party? Some say McAdoo. Some say Smith. Certainly none of the unholy band of favorite sons, who so enlightened the party as to their unselfish devotion to its interests by their conduct in Madison Square, is backing it. But what does its immediate sponsorship matter? Whoever sponsored it, the move is one in the right direction. It is basically a move toward political honesty. It is a step away from the policy of cancelation which has been wrecking the Democratic party far too long.

It means simply this: there are two groups in the Democratic ranks. They do not like each other. There is small agreement between them. They have few common meeting points. The only thing united between them is the four syllable adjective, "Democratic." Under the one-third rule, neither of them has any hope of a clean-cut victory. Their "harmony" is a harmony of hate.

Neither group will follow a man who does not belong to it. Both are equally contemptuous of compromises. Neither group is interested in supporting some genial cipher. Yet so long as the rule

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exists, candidates are sure to be chosen not by deliberation but by exhaustion. These "compromise candidates" inherit the ill will of both groups, the support of neither.

Under the one-third rule, the Democratic national convention is a battle royal. There are no Marquis of Queensbury rules in a battle royal. Usually six to a dozen enter the ring together, with a universal strategy: all of the little fellows jump on the big fellow; the strongest man gets knocked out first.

They keep this up. One by one the union of the weak defeats the strong. And finally, the weakest fellow wins. Correspondingly, in Democratic battles royal, the weakest man usually wins. In the Wilsonian instance, it was the exception which proved the rule.

How much more skill and science and honesty and truth there is in a real finish fight under the rules of the ring! The referee within the circle. The two fighters, and two alone. A fight to the finish. A knockout blow. One or the other wins. We hope the better man wins. But victory is decisive. Defeat is unmistakable.

This must be the sort of feeling which has impelled the leaders of both affirmative groups of the party to the conviction that the present status is but living death; that it is leading surely, but not slowly, to the disintegration of the oldest continuing American political organism.

The move toward getting rid of Jackson's child of hate, and going back to Jefferson's child of right, means that most of the real party pilots have come to the conclusion that it must be somebody's party; that few are willing to belong to nobody's party, and that we had better find out whose party it is, anyway.

III

The superficial critic will always say, "The South won't let the two-thirds rule go. It demands the veto. And the South is our only reservoir of sure Democratic electoral votes, and if it wants a veto, it should have one."

In truth the death of the one-third rule will be the greatest political boon to the South since the end of reconstruction. Under majority control the South will be far more effective in selecting candidates and shaping policies than has been the case for many decades.

Reflect for a moment on the figures. The total strength in Democratic national conventions of states east of the Mississippi, and south of the Potomac, not including West Virginia, is 220 votes. Adding to these the Southern states west of the Mississippi, Arkansas and Texas, there is a total Solid South strength of 278 votes.

In the last Democratic national convention there were 1,098 votes. Of these it took 550 to constitute a majority. Seven hundred and thirty-two votes constitute a two-thirds majority. Under the two-thirds rule, it would have been necessary to assemble a block of 367 votes to veto.

The basis of representation in Democratic national conventions now, and for some time in the past, has been double the number of Representatives and Senators of each state in the Congress. In the Madison Square convention, the various Southern delegations had votes as follows:

Arkansas	18	Mississippi	20
Alabama	24	North Carolina	24
Florida	12	South Carolina	18
Georgia	28	Tennessee	24
Kentucky	26	Texas	40
Louisiana	20	Virginia	24
Total	278		

These 278 votes, a total of all strictly Southern states, are eighty-nine less than a third of the convention. Even counting in Oklahoma, with twenty; West Virginia with sixteen, and Maryland, likewise with sixteen, there still would be lacking thirty-seven votes of the necessary third of the convention to possess a veto.

But West Virginia votes more like Pennsylvania and Massachusetts than she does like Virginia and Tennessee. And Maryland is so obsessed with the necessity of nullifying the Constitution on prohibition that she is far more likely to side with New York and New Jersey than she is with Georgia and Texas.

Thus the total effective southern convention vote may be placed at 298 at the outside (this includes Oklahoma), and more likely at 278. With 367 votes necessary to deadlock the convention, there is no southern veto through the two-thirds rule.

But the two-thirds rule does give a very powerful and effective veto to the "Solid North" against the South, the West, and Democratic progressives in general.

States which now seldom give electoral votes to Democratic Presidential candidates, states grouped north of the Potomac, and east of the Mississippi, possess a thoroughly welded, well manipulated, and very effective veto power under Democratic convention rules as now constituted. A table of these states, with their convention power, follows:

Connecticut	16	New Jersey	28
Delaware	6	New York	90
Illinois	58	Ohio	48
Indiana	30	Pennsylvania	76
Massachusetts	36	Rhode Island	10
Michigan	30	Vermont	8
Maine	12	West Virginia	16
New Hampshire	8		
Total	472		

It will be observed that these states at present have 472 delegates, or 100 more than the necessary third which can block a national convention.

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Such a computation as that immediately above does not concede, as perhaps it should, that Ohio, with her forty-eight, and Michigan with her thirty, may not like the rule of the wet Wall Street boss machine, and may go the other way. But what difference does it make, so long as the one-third rule is in effect, and New England plus New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the other bossed states veto anything but booze and boodle?

The truth of the matter is that the one-third rule is the best protection Tammany could have. It is no assistance to the South, but a menace and a danger. It gives Tammany a veto upon the South, and the South no veto upon Tammany Hall.

The South's growing appreciation of this has recently been very manifest. The Tennessee state Democratic committee, meeting June 7, put itself on record against the rule contrived by Tennessee's political patron saint, Andrew Jackson. On June 9 the North Carolina state committee adopted a similar resolution. The Georgia state committee, on June 9, refused to entertain a motion sustaining the one-third rule, and by its negative action in effect endorsed the movement to get rid of it.

These actions are significant of the changing feeling of the South. The South today seeks substance, not shadow. So she welcomes majority rule.

IV

The present endeavor to unseat the one-third rule began in the corn belt. At a meeting of the Democratic state committee of Iowa this January, a resolution was unanimously adopted by that body instructing the Iowa national committeeman, Mr. Clyde L. Herring, of Des Moines, and the national committeewoman, Mrs. T. N. O'Neill, of Columbus Junction, to use their utmost efforts to get rid of the two-thirds rule.

Pursuant to this resolution, Mr. Herring and Mrs. O'Neill addressed a letter to their fellow members of the national committee throughout the Union urging their coöperation in this enterprise, and seeking whatever arguments there might be advanced in favor of the present rule, so that they could more intelligently undertake a campaign.

Among the first fruits of the undertaking was an interchange of telegrams between Mr. Herring and Norman E. Mack and Miss Elisabeth Marbury, New York members of the national Democratic body. The latter, presumably after consultation with Governor Smith, gave their hearty approval, under certain conditions, to majority rule.

At any event there then appeared a willingness in some circumstances on the part of the cohorts of Tammany to alter their 1924 insistence upon minority rule, and to allow the Jefferson tenet to prevail in Jefferson's party.

This was immediately interpreted by the press as an indication that Governor Smith thought he could be nominated by a majority vote in 1928. There was a great deal of ballyhoo that the anti-two-thirds rule movement was a Smith movement, and that the dry progressive groups of the West and the South would eagerly oppose it.

Imagine what must have been the surprise of the Manhattan Tiger when he saw that the West and the South were eagerly urging democratization of party rules, not only for the sake of party justice, but also in the hope of thereby securing a definite and unshakable control of the party.

Editorials began to appear in newspapers throughout the South upholding majority rule. Many leaders of southern Democracy took an unqualified stand in favor of true Jeffersonism. An enterprising Washington correspondent, William K. Hutchinson, took a poll of Democratic Senators, and found them greatly in favor of majority rule. He further found that of those few who announced opposition to majority rule, the larger part were either favorite sons of 1924, or would-be favorite sons of 1928.

The movement was far more a western than a Tammany one. In the state-wide Democratic primary in Oregon, a national committeeman was elected. His announced platform was "to get rid of the two-thirds rule in Democratic national conventions."

In Montana, a former vice-chairman of the Democratic national committee, Mr. J. Bruce Kremer, issued a vigorous statement placing the intermountain West on record as believing in the will of the majority. The Democrats of California gathered in Santa Cruz in an informal pre-primary convention. One of their principal actions was to demand majority rule in Democratic national conventions. In June the Democratic convention of the state of Washington further reflected Pacific Coast feeling by demanding the abolition of the two-thirds rule, while the last week in June saw the Democrats of South Dakota and Idaho, through their state committees, vigorously urging majority rule.

These instances, one may feel, indicate a practically nationwide favor attending the endeavor to democratize the Democratic party. If this is done, the Democrats will be entitled to seek a different party emblem. Perhaps Jefferson's party at last is about to learn that "first of all lessons in importance," majority rule.

It is easy enough to do it. Each national convention is the author of its own rules. Nothing would need to be abrogated. The 1928 convention would merely need to provide that its nominations for President and Vice-President be made by majority vote. And Democratic national conventions adopt their rules, not by a two-thirds vote, but by a simple majority. A recommendation by the Democratic national committee to ban the one-third rule would be vastly persuasive, of course. But the convention can democratize itself by a simple majority vote. For the sake of honest politics, let it do so!

GEORGE FORT MILTON.

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What Should Parents Know?

And How Can They Find It Out?

FOR generations adults have thought of education as something exclusively for children. In one department after another, however, they are discovering that there is something for them to learn after they have grown up. Parenthood is the last stronghold of resistance to what can be acquired from sources other than natural impulses and instincts; and this stronghold is beginning to yield before the pressure of scientific inquiry.

It is unnecessary to argue that parenthood as an adult pursuit is of sufficient importance and difficulty to warrant educational preparation; this will be acknowledged wherever education is held in any respect at all. With the increasing realization that the educative process in the true sense is never finished, the program for adult education in this country as well as in all parts of the world has had a tremendous impetus within the last decade. It has divided itself into two very definite aspects: continuation of cultural and civic interests after adulthood has been attained, and supplementary or specialized training for the work or profession in which the person is engaged. Parenthood, as a profession, appears to belong in both categories. It is the kind of pursuit for which preparation cannot be insured by purely academic procedure; thus far its technique does not lend itself readily to formulation and inculcation, as in the laboratory or shop, or in the courtroom or kitchen. Nevertheless there is possible a great deal of useful preparatory training, once we are prepared to recognize its importance.

There is first of all the possibility of cultivating in the schools and colleges a franker acceptance of parenthood as a function of normal adult life. We have in the past tacitly assumed that men and women will for the most part marry; we have even shaken our heads in a significant way in speaking of those who have not married. But we have not, in general, done anything to make the young people feel that this parenthood job ahead of them is something to understand and prepare for. Moreover, in attempting to glorify a life of public or vocational service we have frequently opposed the career to the family. In trying to exalt the values of personality, we have allowed parenthood to appear as an obstacle to individual development, perhaps even as a source of frustration. These undesirable by-products of earnest effort are not at all necessary, unless we remain in doubt as to values and meanings as intelligent people have no right to do.

Concretely, the time is now opportune for introducing into the school-program a considerable amount of practical psychology, leading to a better understanding of the individual's own unacknowledged impulses and desires and a recognition of the motives that constantly influence conduct, and furnish the basis also for all achievement and satisfaction.

But when all is said and done there remains a great deal the school cannot be expected to do. Education is a developmental process related to immediate interests and needs, and it should be without preconceived ideas as to what the learner ought to acquire for some remote purpose. Since the learners are by our assumption concerned with living children, these needs and interests are in constant flux, for it is in the nature of the child to be one thing today and another thing tomorrow. If parenthood is to be looked upon as a technical job (notwithstanding the excellent results achieved by our own parents without any special training whatever) it can best be learned while being practiced.

The earliest concern of parents, as parents, is with the physical well-being of the child and there has been a tremendous improvement in recent years in making available the specialized knowledge of pediatrists and dietitians and hygienists. It is sometimes amazing and sometimes amusing to hear tenement house mothers talk about balanced diets, calories and vitamins. They are learning the importance of regular habits of sleep and play and evacuation and they are learning in many cases the practical hygienic management of infants. More and more, however, health workers are discovering, along with the parents, that scientifically sound dietaries and rules of training do not translate themselves automatically into practice. A child will resist the best intentions of the most loving parents. It is necessary to know something of the emotional and mental properties of this beloved object, in addition to something of carrots and calories. Nor is it enough to acquire a few simple tricks for diverting the child's attention while introducing the soup or the tomato juice into the mouth unconsciously opened by the wonder-tale.

A child is not very old before parents discover new problems for which they are unprepared, although most of them hide their difficulties until it is no longer possible to do so, because the neighbors come sooner or later to help them keep the secret. By that time there is already much to unlearn, both for the parent and child.

Modern advances in psychological knowledge have revealed hardly anything more important than the relation of emotions to habits. We find that attitudes become established not so much through

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endless repetitions, but as a result of strong emotional coloring of our experiences. This fact places the father in a new relation to the children, even in the earliest years. Although he has generally been absolved from continuous educational responsibility, because he has been of necessity away from home in most cases, it must be recognized that the short time the father has with the children may be disproportionately influential on account of the feelings associated with the brief experiences. Whether these periods are devoted to play or to concentrated doses of punishment to make up for lost time, whether the father is a mysterious reserve for emergencies or accepted as a normal member of the household, his influence is of such weight as to deserve thoughtful preparation on his part.

Now what can be done for women and men to make them happier and more efficient parents? Increasing numbers of adults have today as never before leisure time for self-improvement or for recreation. We have as never before pressing problems in the adjustment of young people at every age to a complex and changing social environment. And we have today as never before a large body of sound scientific teaching regarding the characteristics of the human spirit, especially during the developing periods. How can we effectively combine the new knowledge with the new leisure in order that we may meet the new problems of child life?

Many agencies have already begun contributing to this phase of adult education. Within the last few years a number of the state universities and teachers' colleges have established child welfare research institutes. These accomplish their purpose through clinics and nursery schools and through the study of individual children and groups. Parents are being reached directly through extension courses and special classes. Home economics departments very generally have recognized that there is more to home-making than food, furniture and textiles and some have added health education or home hygiene and others finance and domestic budgets. Still others are demanding a new psychology since the essence of homes is people in certain relations in addition to the management of material things.

On the outside social workers are finding and utilizing increasing opportunities for parental education, and are requiring in their own training a thorough study of the psychology of childhood, especially on the emotional side. Visiting teachers are being followed by visiting mothers, perhaps it is not unreasonable to expect that trained psychiatrists will clear the way for a new type of educational leadership outside the school. The remarkable extension in recent years of the Parent-Teacher Associations and the Child Study Association, and such similar agencies as child guidance clinics is convincing testimony to the reality of the need which called them into being. In the immediate future a large part of the task will probably fall upon these voluntary educational agencies, which are making adult education for parents their main objective.

Even with these expanded organizations functioning at top speed the existing demand of fathers and mothers for assistance in meeting their special problems is far in excess of the supply of adequately equipped leaders. To meet what amounts to a virtual emergency there have been tried out methods of group study that promise to produce excellent results without waiting for another generation of teachers to be trained. There are books and manuals and pamphlets that supply materials of instruction and suggest ways of conducting group discussions. While a leader who knows the "subject" can be of great usefulness, much can be accomplished by people who understand only the art of study and of getting others to study with them. This is quite in line with what is being done by other groups of adults who have become aware of common problems for which, as they deserve, no standard or automatic solutions are to be had.

Through the interchange of experience, from one observing parent to another, fostered by these agencies and study groups, and aided by the researches of psychologists, there is rapidly emerging a body of scientific data which will provide the basis for a valid and tested technique of parenthood, thus bringing at last into the fold of science one of the most stubborn remaining opponents of method and control. The social possibilties inherent in this promised development can easily be exaggerated, but when we reflect upon the frightful waste and disorder now so much in evidence, no matter how greatly we may discount our expectations, we are certainly fully justified in looking forward to immense and far-reaching improvement.

It is interesting to contemplate also what effect a broad development of adult education may have upon our more formal schooling. If we discover that education need not be planned to furnish advance preparation very far ahead of actual use, a type of instruction that considers exclusively what concerns the learner in the practical pursuits may in time be evolved. Instead of attempting to pack the youngsters' trunk for a lifetime's journey in grade and high-school, we may provide him with only a satchel for the summer holidays. Such a conception of education would release for cultural and artistic training much time now given to study supposedly of practical utility in later years. It would indeed be a natural sequence if the widespread acceptance of adult education, parental education especially, ultimately should bring about a profound modification in our thinking about the school.

SIDONIE MATSNER GRUENBERG.

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Scandals in Canada

THE political situation in Canada has suddenly taken a very dramatic turn. On June 26 Premier Mackenzie King, the leader of the Liberal government, when faced with imminent defeat in the House of Commons on a direct vote of censure about Customs scandals, advised Lord Byng, the Governor General, that a dissolution of Parliament and a general election should take place. Upon Lord Byng refusing his advice Mr. Mackenzie King at once tendered his resignation. It was accepted by the Governor General, who invited Mr. Arthur Meighen, the leader of the Conservative party, to form a Ministry. Mr. Meighen accepted the invitation but, being aware that, if he appointed even six Ministers with full portfolios and salaries, their seats in Parliament would be automatically vacated and his fragile temporary majority would disappear, he resorted to the device of appointing six acting Ministers. The Liberals challenged the regularity of this action, and on July 1 the new Meighen government was defeated on a want-of-confidence motion in the House of Commons by one vote; on the following morning the Governor General, on the advice of Mr. Meighen, dissolved Parliament and a general election will take place, probably in late September. In it political and constitutional issues of the very gravest character will be raised, for Mr. Mackenzie King and the whole Liberal party openly accuse Lord Byng of grossly partisan conduct and intend to fight the battle on the issue "Is Canada a self-governing Dominion or a Crown Colony?"

Such is the dramatic and unexpected outcome of the revelations which have lately been made about dishonesty among officials in the Canadian federal Customs Department. These scandals, striking in their extent, are both important on their own account, and significant as revealing the problems with which Canada is at present confronted, growing, partially at any rate, out of the prohibition law in the United States.

The Mackenzie King government, none too secure in view of the fact that it controlled only a minority in Parliament and existed in fact by sufferance of the Progressives who held the balance of power, fell as a result of investigations made by a special parliamentary committee. That committee completed its labors a short time ago, after sitting steadily for four months during which it has examined scores of witnesses and investigated a huge mass of documentary evidence.

The evidence reveals beyond doubt that in recent years the smuggling industry has grown to enormous dimensions in Canada and has extended its scope far beyond alcoholic liquors and narcotic drugs; that its prosperity has been actively promoted by the persistent connivance and even active coöperation of officials of the Customs Department, and that political influences were often employed to avert or mitigate penalties for offenders.

Liquor moved from "wet" to "dry" provinces and across the international boundary without serious let or hindrance, and the vaunted coöperation between the American and Canadian customs services to safeguard the Volstead act from violation simply did not exist. Canadian officials instructed to refuse clearance papers for liquor shipments to the United States, signed them by the bushel for Yokohama, Mexico City or St. Pierre Miquelon and, when consignments, thus viséd, were encountered at the boundary headed for Detroit or some other thirsty American city, objections were rarely raised. There seem to be scores of swift greyhounds of our inland waters which are capable of leaving a Canadian port at sundown with a cargo of liquor billed for Cuba or Vera Cruz and being back next morning in their home ports with their cargo safely delivered.

Among seafaring folk Montreal was rated the port offering the best facilities for smuggling in the world, and through it a gang of international drug smugglers brought in supplies for their North American trade. The drug shipments invariably arrived in six containers, labeled cocoa or mustard; three of them marked with an almost indiscernible blue cross were invariably opened by the vigilant officials, and the genuineness of their contents sufficed to give uninterrupted passage to the precious "dope." The customs house at Montreal also served as a regular clearing house for the automobile thieves of the United States; they would drive the stolen cars across the boundary and deliberately court confiscation for non-payment of duties because their confederates in the customs service could arrange, by a process of faked official sales, for the restoration of the cars to the robbers who were thus provided with a new title to facilitate sale.

As long as the smuggling fraternity confined their energies to these lines of activity no serious protest was made. They were even regarded as useful contributors to the national prosperity. Mr. James Cooper of Windsor, Ont., a mighty potentate in the liquor trade, voiced this view to the committee when he said, "We were not working for love. What we were after was good American money, and God knows we need it." But it became a different matter when the smugglers discovered that there were large profits to be earned from return cargoes of silks, cigarettes, laces, rubber goods and other highly dutiable commodities, and merchants and manufacturers found themselves faced with a serious loss of business through the competition of illicit goods which had never paid duty.

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It soon came to pass that in most towns in Canada there were certain stores, known to every intelligent flapper, where feminine raiment and other commodities could be purchased at astonishingly low prices. Then the merchants and manufacturers bestirred themselves and formed a Commercial Protective Association whose investigations brought matters to a head.

The customs service abounded in disloyal officials who lined their own purses by their timely services to the smuggling fraternity. About the career of some of these recreant officers there is a Gilbertian flavor. A certain T. E. Bisaillon was Chief Preventive Officer in Quebec and the bosom friend of at least one Minister, but he was also the active confederate of gangs of crooks and smugglers who were actually using his farm near the international boundary as a rendezvous for their operations. The sort of part this zealous public servant played can be gleaned from the case of a barge, the Tremblay. It was seized by officials of the Quebec Liquor Commission at a small harbor on the St. Lawrence where it was unloading into a fleet of waiting motors a cargo of alcohol brought originally from Belgium and consigned to two magnates of the bootlegging profession in the United States who were aboard. When the barge arrived in Montreal with everyone on board under arrest, the worthy Mr. Bisaillon claimed it as federal treasure trove and under his guardian care the two magnates, one of whom bore the engaging name of "The Gorilla," were allowed to escape.

The loss to the public revenues from the operations of the smugglers and their allies runs into millions of dollars, but much more serious is the evidence of the sedulous perversion of the course of justice for the benefit of guilty parties. There were honest officials who did their duty and made seizures and arrests, but usually the wires would begin to burn with frantic messages from the culprits' political friends, insisting that a worthy citizen must not be exposed to unmerited persecution. Moses Aziz, an Assyrian, was one of the most notorious bootleggers in New Brunswick, but when he was caught with a supply of illicit liquor and sentenced to a heavy fine and jail term, the local Liberal member made a frantic appeal to Ottawa that the prison gates must not close on one who would be a "precious help" during the approaching general election, and the tender-hearted Minister of Customs promptly stayed the sentence.

The international boundary dividing Quebec from Vermont and New Hampshire was the chief hotbed of smuggling enterprise. Across it night and day ran high-powered cars conveying rich argosies to consignees in both countries. The situation became so scandalous that the preventive force was strengthened and some barriers disagreeable to the smugglers set up, but one of the local members proceeded to write indignant protests to Ottawa to the effect that officious servants of the state were interfering with the business of some of his best supporters and must be called off. The Civil Service Commission was unlikely to exercise any rigid discipline over the customs service because two of its three members were in the habit of receiving regularly presents of liquor of questionable origin from officials in Montreal, and their naïve explanations of this generosity could not avert their compulsory resignation.

Ministers at Ottawa, however, showed an extraordinary complaisance toward the scandals which were brought before their notice. Their lame excuse was that the smuggling industry had begun to flourish before their advent to office, and that the influence of Conservative members was sometimes exerted on behalf of smugglers. It was, however, to the King government that administrative responsibility for the appalling situation which has been disclosed attached, and the charge of grave incompetence was unanswerable. Government organs and supporters did their best to make light of the scandals, but when the Toronto Globe, the leading Liberal paper of Ontario, declared that "the testimony pieced together forms a record of negligence, inefficiency, fraud and corruption which would make any country feel sick," defense was indeed difficult.

The King government was notoriously weak on the administrative side; its lack of a parliamentary majority kept all the energies of Ministers occupied in the political intrigues and manœuvres necessary for the retention of office, and they left themselves inadequate time for their normal duties. But even if it had possessed a commanding majority, the dominance of the French-Canadian element in its councils precluded any superlative standards of administrative excellence. The French Canadians have many virtues and have no monopoly of political corruption in Canada, but undoubtedly years of subordination to the rule of alien British officials trained them to regard government as an unfriendly institution, to deceive or defraud which was no particular crime. This attitude still persists among large elements in Quebec. It was an unfortunate coincidence that the district of Montreal, where administrative standards were weakest, presented the best opportunities for smuggling; but even if all its inhabitants had been bred in archangelic traditions of political virtue, the temptations presented to them were overpowering. It lay close to the doors of the richest community in the world, wherein existed sumptuary laws, contemptuously disregarded and offering large profits through their violation. There are "dry" provinces in Canada, and the prohibitionist system of the United States is not wholly blameworthy for the growth of smuggling in Canada, but it must bear a large share of the responsibility. The housecleaning now in progress at Ottawa will avail little unless there is a corresponding clean-up of the liquor situation south of the forty-ninth parallel.

Ottawa, Can. J. A. STEVENSON.

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Washington Notes

IN all America no one is quite so relieved over the final adjournment of Congress as Mr. Coolidge and the genial little group of New England friends and advisers who hover so closely around the White House, slip in and out of the executive offices importantly during the day and at nights frequently gather upstairs in the library where are discussed such vital and profound matters as whether or not Senator Butler will get the full shoe vote in Massachusetts this fall; whether up in Vermont the Ludlow folks are as solid for Stickney as they ought to be; whether Dale has been getting in some dirty work in the Plymouth neighborhood, or whether it would not be a good idea to invite a couple of those Iowa farm journal editors to dinner again or perhaps take them down on the Mayflower.

On the day of adjournment their large relief could be seen plainly in their rugged and serious New England faces. Another week and some of them would have begun to crack under the strain. I am certain of that. As it was, so much of the shine has been rubbed off the Coolidge prestige and the exposure of the innate and ridiculous feebleness of the man has again been so clearly made that the customary smug serenity of the little group of White House insiders has not been proof against it. In the few days just before as well as since Congress quit they registered perturbation with a distinctness not to be mistaken.

As a matter of fact the wind-up of the session found Mr. Coolidge in the mortifying position of being the most completely ignored and wholly uninfluential President of his generation. No one in Washington can remember an executive who has been so consistently and contemptuously pushed aside and disregarded. But it was his last-minute panicky effort to jam through the Fess farm relief bill and thereby reinstate himself with the embittered and hostile western farmers that constituted the real low water mark of the administration at the last session. In the almost frantic effort to get this bill through, Mr. Coolidge not only abandoned his professed belief that the Executive ought to take no part in legislation other than making his recommendations to the Congress, which has been used time and again as an alibi for his failures, but he also abandoned the principles for which his administration and himself had stood, on the question of agriculture, sacrificing everything in a political gesture dictated purely by expediency. The result was such a disastrous and humiliating failure as to make it impossible longer to doubt that the propaganda-and-newspaper-built structure upon which he has been perched for the past three years has at last begun to crumble under him. I have previously made no predictions along this line because it was clearly impossible to tell how long the incredible luck of the little fellow would hold, but it does not now take a gift of prophecy to foresee the time when his popularity with the people will seem like a preposterous joke or an absurd dream. Six months ago it seemed as if the clear view of the President would be indefinitely postponed and that with a continuation of prosperity it was at least an even bet that he would be renominated to succeed himself in 1928 notwithstanding the dislike and distaste of practically every Republican party leader of prominence and power. Today it is at least a ten to one bet that he will not be renominated and I believe that after November the odds will lengthen.

No better illustration of the fact that the peerless Calvin is at last on the toboggan could be desired than the fact that in the last week of Congress thirty-two Republican Senators ignored his pleas for the Fess bill, ignored the importunities of his Secretary of Agriculture and of the Presidential private secretary, Mr. Sanders. The best efforts of the administration could line up behind him only twenty-three out of fifty-five members of his own party. The plain meaning of this is that Republicans in the Senate look upon Mr. Coolidge now as an outgoing President without either patronage or political power of a menacing kind. If they thought there was any danger of his succeeding himself there would have been no such revolt as that. It is not possible to conceive a big majority of Republican Senators flatly rejecting the most direct and personal Presidential appeals, unless they were convinced that his sun had set.

That such is the case can be best judged perhaps by the fact that the New York Times—and this is funny—has begun to make sarcastic editorial references to the efforts of "the Washington correspondents of Republican newspapers to make it appear that Mr. Coolidge has not received a severe rebuff from Congress." In addition the Times editorially and in its Washington dispatches is now seriously discussing the question whether Mr. Coolidge's popularity and strength with the people as well as with the politicians has not begun to wane. Up to date the mere suggestion of such a thing was sufficient to procure from the Times a ringing pro-Coolidge editorial. Now they seem to think that perhaps there may be some basis for the idea that the inevitable slipping has begun and that the repeated exhibitions of Presidential futility must be explained upon some other ground than the obstinacy and blindness of Congress. Incredible as it may seem the Times has recently even gone so far as to make a few tart editorial remarks not of a complimentary nature. If this keeps up everybody will be doing it, except the Herald-Tribune, Mr. Curtis and Mr. Brisbane. You can't shake them.

Republican Senatorial friends of mine have in the past confided to me from time to time their feelings about these White House breakfasts, but I do believe from what I hear that the last one on record, held just before the adjournment of Congress, was pretty close to the limit. Upon this merry matutinal occasion there were present besides the righteous Senator Butler, Chairman of the National Committee, confidant and personal spokesman of the Executive, Senator Charles Curtis of Kansas and various other members of the Republican Senatorial campaign committee which in theory conducts the off-year campaign for the Grand Old Party with particular regard to holding its grip upon the Senate. The purpose of this gathering was to discuss Republican prospects in the elections this fall. I am credibly informed that before the breakfast had proceeded very far all the merriment had

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disappeared and gloom hung over the table like a pall.

According to the most authentic accounts most of the depression was due to Senator Curtis who, when asked for his views, gave them with a bluntness and detail that deepened the chronic cheerlessness of the President and caused Senator Butler to frown with manifest displeasure. The worst of it was that the Curtis view was echoed and endorsed by the other Senators present to a degree and with a unanimity that left no room for doubt in the Presidential mind of their complete conviction that the chance of retaining a regular Republican control—even the nominal control exercised at the session just ended—is exceedingly dim and remote.

But even worse than the plainness with which this pessimistic political view was presented was the more or less direct intimation that a considerable part of the responsibility for this condition of affairs rested upon the White House and not upon the Senate. I cannot of course vouch for this, but I am told that one Senator present—and it was not Senator Curtis—casually called attention to what has become known in the Senate cloak room as the "Brookhart Blunder" and that this Senator rather rubbed it in by repeating his belief that the aid given by administration influences and votes in the ousting of Senator Brookhart was a very great political mistake.

Just how tactfully this opinion was presented I do not know, but that it could be presented at all is an extraordinary thing. What it amounted to was the telling to their solemn faces, the President and his particular boy friend, that between them they had messed things all up politically and damaged the party prospects. There are some Presidents whom I can recall to whom it would not have been a healthful thing to have made such a suggestion no matter how well founded it might be.

While Senator Curtis, official majority floor leader, was not the man who touched upon this delicate subject it is hard to believe that he did not have trouble keeping a gleam of gratification out of his soft brown eyes, it being a well known fact that prior to the act he had protested as vigorously as a man could, pointing out that half a Republican was better than none, that danger was involved in throwing Brookhart out, that it would probably result in the defeat of Cummins and would at least provide the Democrats with a chance of electing another Democrat from Iowa. There was not the least disguise about the fact that as the official Republican leader he resented the efforts of Mr. Butler to pull away Republican Senators from him on this issue. It was rather obvious that the President was pulling against Mr. Curtis rather than with him and there were plenty to say after the battle was over that the Kansas leader had not been treated with either consideration or ordinary fairness.

Under the circumstances his pessimism about prospects at the White House breakfast can be well understood and if the Brookhart Blunder really was brought up—and I believe it was—while he may have kept silent it was not from chagrin. Altogether this last of the White House breakfasts was not the happiest of them—but it was not without interest at that.

Washington. T. R. B.

Baroque and the Opera

LOOKING at the room from the Palazzo Sagredo at the Metropolitan Museum of Art I find myself thinking of the new building for the opera. It seems to be final that the old Metropolitan Opera House is to go and that not far away to the west its successor will arise. For the change and the demolition of the present opera house there are many reasons given, and the debate about it is over and useless now, we can only wonder about the future. The interior of the Metropolitan that we know is a fine one, with its red and gold, its rich ornamentation, the ripe architectural forms in the ceiling, the admirable proscenium arch and within it the most beautiful curtain in the world. Its character is baroque in general and, though a none too extravagant and teeming baroque, an ample and glowing adaptation of this style.

You look at this sumptuous Sagredo chamber, with its green and gold, its marquetry, brocade and lacquer, its amorini and draperies in fine stucco; you tremble a little with a fear lest the new opera house might take a leaf from the books of some of the new and more aspiring theatres or of theories of building for theatrical uses. It might take one of two directions. It might get itself into the mood of public service, sternly advocating a place where one man of the people can see one as well as the other, with straight walls, the stage in the corner, the color gray, the surfaces plain, everything democratic and everything serving the people and serving the serious mission of the drama presented—in sum, a building after the numerous German designs for the folk houses. Or it might take the direction followed in several instances among our more ambitious theatres, a prettification in the hotel manner of a theme supposed to be Italian and more or less so. There you have the walls dimmed and umbered to an antique harmony, you have pseudo-archaic rigidities in the ornament, in the architectural details, the lamps, tables, niches and so on, all without the austerity that underlies the original and without the solidity and gravity and primitive invention that would make it at the same time both worthily distinguished and unfitted for the spirit and purposes of the art of the theatre. Let us hope that the new opera house will not be persuaded into these errors, both essentially bourgeois.

Whether the baroque is adapted to American life or not is a question. Baroque is rich and extravagant, it crowds excellence on excellence or folly on folly, it pours out the utmost resources, allows the widest fling in expense and ornament. We have the money certainly; whether we have the will for such a form, or the sophistication, is another matter. Baroque requires copious talent and copious fancy and undying exuberance. You cannot buy exuberance in art, however much money you may have to lavish on it, and there are certain ways of life necessary if fancy and invention are to have their swing. Certainly that power of life, that irrepressible rhythm and detail, that pressing, vital restatement of the circle and the life in the circle, all of which together characterize the baroque at its best, are not to be had for the asking.

Are our ideas for the most part primitive and so on that account adapted to expression in an architecture of

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primitive and naïve forms? Or are our ideas only simple and middle-class, half-baked, and on that account adapted to an architecture that is simple, commonplace and energetic? Or are our ideas mechanical and ambitious and on that account suited to an architecture of squares and angles, lines, elevations, lengths and breadths, the felicity, where it can be achieved, of forms almost mechanical in their nature? These may be problems in the future of American architecture; and, if we should write an opera in the future, an American opera, native to our own soil and our own American culture, these may be problems about designing the right American opera house. But at present opera as we have it is a baroque art. Opera developed out of baroque epochs, its theory has the elaboration and exuberance of the baroque mind, its uses and its expenses share the aristocratic habits of the baroque. Mozart and Gluck in their perfection are the finest baroque. Even Wagner, with his Nordic soul, his beautiful lyric rapture, his music drama credo, his pseudo-heroics, his emotional glue and superman confusions, his exalted sensuous intervals, is at bottom a variation on the baroque. The new Metropolitan Opera House should be again, like the old, baroque in style.

It would be a fine thing to carry to the new opera house some of the details, certain parts, the proscenium arch and the curtain for example, straight from the present one. If the publicity would be better with everything new and very costly, a certain kind of publicity might be trumped up, and might work very well with the right amount of sentimentality, about keeping the old pieces as mementoes of past glories and associations, where Sembrich, Caruso, et cetera, thus ringing the changes on famous nights and who was there. The luxurious nature of this art cannot be denied when seats are fifteen dollars, as they sometimes are now; the red and gold and expensive abundance of the old place have the appropriate exhalation of abundance, splendor and delight. They are too good, many of these details, to be cast aside.

That we have architects who could do a fine theatre in this style nobody can doubt, the state of architecture among us these days is the despair of practicers of other arts, of painters, musicians and sculptors everywhere. That we have a painter who could more than replace the dimmish canvases now on the old ceiling, who could carry through with great distinction a commission of baroque design is certain. Mr. Allyn Cox has more technical command of baroque technique than any painter either on the Continent or in America.

You look at his figures in the large room of the Cosmopolitan Club in New York, or his designs for houses on Long Island, in Florida and California and New York, and see a drawing that is extraordinary and in the best baroque tradition, and color that has all the glamorous and unreal pallor of the best baroque without any of the washed-out anæmia and sickly paste of the poorer instances. The knowledge of details, the designing, down to the last leaf and flower and column and urn, apart from the fine anatomical detail, is remarkably integrated into one style; the essential mind, the technical approach are profoundly those of the baroque. In these works the achievement is so learned and facile that you are almost confounded by them, and is full of a vitality that is so exotic and intense that you are stirred and amazed. I look at those figures on the Cosmopolitan Club walls, with their fine drawing, their sensuous rich forms and their wistful faces, and ask myself how much this is an emotion in the painter's soul, how much it is an acquired expression and way of thought. But I know how great their ease is, I know their vast and laborious conscience in execution, and their distinction in those elements in which the special nature of the baroque appears, the painted rendering of marble, the rich violence of a curve, the suavity and opulence of adjacent rhythms.

Toward a new opera house the architect, then, has the music of the great line of operas, the room from the Palazzo Sagredo, the baroque painting of Mr. Allyn Cox, and the old Metropolitan, to draw on for a new glamor and eminence.

STARK YOUNG.

Shanty-Boy Ballads and Blues

THE present writer has recently complained in these pages of the pedantic treatment which popular songs receive at the hands of the folk-lore scholars. He especially deprecated the anti-literary policy of the collectors which leads them to neglect the more interesting versions of ballads preserved in printed books or originated and made famous by particularly gifted ballad-singers and to put a premium on the commoner versions which have been denuded of their wittiest lines or their most picturesque details by the erosion of unretentive memories and inaccurate ears. He suggested that it might be at least as valuable, from the literary point of view, to put on record the real poetry of the people, as it could be, from the scientific one, to collate all their banalities and stupidities.

Since he wrote, two new books have appeared, one of which perfectly meets his requirements and the other of which, although following the formula of traditional ballad scholarship, shows real literary appreciation on the part of the editor. Professor Rickaby, the compiler of a collection of Ballads and Songs of the Shanty-Boy (Harvard University Press), has evidently worked in the shadow of the Child tradition: he states an original intention of excluding from his book all songs which, however popular among the lumberjacks, should not deal directly with their life work and of "including all obtainable variants and fragments of all of these"; and he apologizes for admitting one of the very best ballads of a lumberjack master composer on the ground that, though it was frequently sung by the latter on his rounds, he cannot be sure that it had any "folk-currency." Professor Rickaby has, however, inhibited both these scholarly impulses; and the written ballads of W. N. Allen, the master composer referred to, constitute precisely one of the most interesting features of his collection. Professor Rickaby, stumbling upon evidence that Mr. Allen was the original author of a certain popular ballad, took the trouble to look him up and to interview him at his home in Wausau, Wisconsin: he discovered that Mr. Allen, who is now in his eighty-third year, was the creator, not only of the ballad in question,

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but of a number of others as well and that the original versions of his songs, in their treatment of pathetic situations, showed a strange vein of ironic humor (plainly traceable to the author's Irish extraction), which had become obliterated in the course of their transmission through simpler minds. Of one of his tragic heroes, for example, Mr. Allen had written as follows:

His pants were made out of two meal-sacks,
With a patch a foot square on each knee.
His shirt and his jacket were dyed with
The bark of a butternut tree.
He wore a large open-faced ticker
With almost a yard of steel chain,
When he went away with Ross Gamble
From the banks of the Little Eau Pleine.

And of the death of another:

The bold Wisconsin River is now roaring o'er his bones.
His companions are the catfish, and his grave a pile of stones.
For he fell off a rapids piece on the falls at Mosinee,
And ended thus his faithful love and all his misery.

Mr. Allen, Professor Rickaby tells us, always describes his compositions as "poems"; and we do not feel that he is unjustified in doing so. Here is the curse of the bereaved heroine of The Banks of the Little Eau Pleine:

My curses attend you, Wisconsin!
May your rapids and falls cease to roar.
May every tow-head and sand-bar
Be as dry as a log schoolhouse floor.
May the willows upon all your islands
Lie down like a field of ripe grain,
For taking my jolly young raftsman
Away from the Little Eau Pleine.

And his apostrophe to the Noble Big Pine Tree has a genuine poignance with its vision of the gigantic trunk, in whose magnificence the lumberman sees only money, first brought thundering down to the consternation of the birds and squirrels which have lived in it, then laid out in a winding-sheet of snow, then cut up, then rolled into the river, then goaded down to the mill, then sawed into planks, then rafted through dams and rocks, then sold to build a lonely farm-house, then bleached by the sleet and the rain, then burnt by a prairie fire.

The other collection, Blues: An Anthology (A. and C. Boni), is a monument to an even more remarkable composer of popular ballads. Mr. W. C. Handy, a Negro, enjoys the undisputed distinction of having, by dint of his individual genius, brought the "blues" from their comparative obscurity as folk-songs to their present pitch of popularity, and his admirable selection in this volume exhibits in brief the whole history of the form, from its first beginnings in spirituals and "pats," through the more sophisticated developments of Handy and other Negroes and its later phases in the hands of white composers, to its final "highbrow" metamorphosis in Gershwin and Carpenter. There is an introduction by Mr. Abbé Niles, who, standing outside the university tradition, has written an excellent critical essay full of literary and musical appreciation and based on an exhaustive study of his subject. Here we watch the evolution of a popular form, not in its decadence toward folk-lore, but in all its flowerings, vulgar and polite. Mr. Niles has supplied a history, not merely of the blues, but of the whole growth of modern jazz, with an analysis of its nature, both intelligent and scholarly, and an account of its principal exponents. The career of Handy himself is particularly interesting as an example of the conscious use by a gifted ballad-writer of folk-material. Mr. Handy, the son of a Methodist minister in Florence, Alabama, and a man of some musical education, has not only laid under contribution blues and spirituals already developed, but has seen the value of all sorts of scraps of music and poetry picked up in all sorts of corners: the chant of a Negro Elder urging his congregation to contribute to the plate, the drone of an old blind beggar-woman on a street corner in Memphis, a pianist in a Memphis saloon, and even the improvised song of a Negro housewife overheard to exclaim, while she was hanging out clothes, "I wonder where's my good ole use-to-be!" On another occasion, Mr. Handy heard a drunken woman sing, "My man's got a heart like a rock cast in de sea!"; he asked an onlooker what this meant and received the reply, "It's *hard*—an' gone so far she can't reach it." He used the figure many years afterwards in the words of one of his blues.

The Anthology of Blues, which includes complete musical texts of all its songs, and a set of drawings, some of them excellent, by Covarrubias, is thus the most satisfactory work in the field of American balladry that I have recently seen. It makes one wish for a general anthology compiled on the same principles. Will not Professor Louise Pound, or someone else, some day give us one? Such an anthology should contain examples of British ballads brought to America, of the type of Johnny Randall and Lord Lovel; The Hangman's Song and Billy Boy; songs of our wars, Yankee Doodle, Hunters of Kentucky, John Brown's Body and The Bonny Blue Flag; cowboy ballads, Git Along Little Dogies and Bury Me Not on the Lone Prairie; songs of the hard life of the pioneers, Starving to Death on a Government Claim, The Arkansas Traveler and The Dreary Black Hills; Stephen Foster, Francis Scott Key and Julia Ward Howe; ballads of celebrated criminals, Captain Kidd, Jesse James, Frankie and Johnny, and Stagolee; and of tragic accidents, Fair Charlotte and Casey Jones; ballads of shipwrecks and prize-fights; a comprehensive Negro selection, beginning with the remnants of African slave-songs, and proceeding through Creole songs in French, work-songs of the steamboat and the railroad and religious spirituals, to minstrel songs, modern blues and modern "baptisin' ballats"; lumberjack ballads from Washington to Maine; sailors' chanties; temperance songs, Oh, Don't Go Out Tonight, Dear Father; sentimental ballads of the end of the century, My Mother Was a Lady and A Bird in a Gilded Cage; rakish songs from Jolly Dogs to The Man Who Broke the Bank at Monte Carlo; Sweet Marie, Walking Down

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Broadway and the Sidewalks of New York; college songs, My Last Cigar and the nonsense parody of Excelsior; Chauncey Olcott, George M. Cohan, Montgomery and Stone; political songs; Irving Berlin and the best lyrics of Wodehouse; the mournful narratives of Charley Case and the snappy wisecracks of Eddie Cantor; songs of the War, The Little Marine, Beautiful Katy, Oh, How I Hate to Get Up in the Morning, Keep Your Head Down, Alleman', and Beautiful Paris; and, finally, the most amusing jazz ballads, Hard-Hearted Hannah and Louisville Lou. Nor do I see why it should not be possible to follow the example of Bishop Percy and to enrich the collection by the inclusion of poems which have affinities to popular balladry: certain pieces of Bret Harte, Field and Riley, John Hay, Henry Drummond, Robert Service and the Negro poets. If such a collection were as well selected and as well annotated and introduced as the Handy-Niles anthology, it would supply a whole history of the continent and constitute a valuable contribution to our literature.

EDMUND WILSON.

A COMMUNICATION

Facing the Facts in China

SIR: Many Americans seem to hope that the situation in China will clear up of itself without any real move on the part of foreign governments. The fact of the matter is the whole foreign attitude must change. The "we must keep them in their place" attitude is as out of date as a hoop skirt. It is America's move. I wonder if we have a single statesman with the vision of Hay when he announced the open door policy. I doubt it. The events of May, 1925, are sometimes referred to as the Shanghai Riots, sometimes as the incident of May 30. In any case, the affair was not a sudden madness, it was not a mere flare-up, rather was it a culmination of a great movement which is deep and permanent.

It was the expression of the nationalism which roots itself in the rich culture of the world's longest lived civilization. It is not the mere pettiness of the schoolboy, but partakes of the dignity and nobility of the gentleman and scholar. The present expression is caused by the consciousness of the indignities and injustices of a century. The West has treated China as a child and a weakling. Sometimes we have felt she was beneath our contempt. She is now showing her spiritual resentment, is asserting her independence. That is a most important fact in the present situation, and the sooner we can take that fact into account the better will we handle the situation in the Far East.

The Commissions in Peking (studying the tariff and extra-territoriality questions) have evidently been marking time, hoping that something lucky (for them) would happen to relieve the strain. Nothing will happen except that Chinese resentment and indignation and scorn for our hypocrisy will increase every day.

We need not so much intelligence on the part of some of our representatives as we need courage. Some one of them probably knows what ought to be done—what some day (a generation hence, perhaps) must be done—but he just has not the courage to risk it. If he took that stand so far ahead of the average hard-boiled diplomat he would feel lonesome and the cold winds of criticism would be too icy out there on the frontier.

A few men like Thomas F. Millard, who is now representing the New York Times in China, seem to sense the situation. They understand the spiritual thing that has happened in China. People who can feel the situation were not surprised by the recent full page advertisements in the Shanghai papers signed by the Chinese General Chambers of Commerce. In this advertisement, printed on April 13, after outlining the attitude of China on questions growing out of the shooting on May 30, they insist on the following demands: 1. Racial equality with all foreigners; 2. Full civic rights in the foreign settlement of Shanghai; 3. Membership in the Municipal Council and a protest against the arbitrary allotment of Chinese seats *by foreigners;* 4. Immediate and unconditional establishment of Mixed Courts under Chinese control. In the matter of foreign affairs they demand an early adjustment to secure China's full sovereign rights and a revision of all unequal treaties.

These demands must be met. No amount of delay or of evasive palaver will make a particle of difference.

It should be pointed out that the present movement is not anti-foreign in the old sense of the word. Foreigners may be occasionally killed because of lack of order and weakness in government, both foreign and local, but there will be no concerted attack upon foreigners. The men who are leading are not inspired by prejudice. They are simply facing the facts, and they are not pretty facts. The question is when shall we be as frank in facing those same facts? Conferences and Commissions will avail nothing unless the representatives of the Powers are willing intelligently and courageously to face every one of those facts.

China for the Chinese, and not China against the world is the goal which they are seeking. They are utterly opposed to foreign domination or control. They are insistent, and will continue to insist, on equality and justice. Any treaty or speech or conference that evades those two words will fail. China has made her decision, and there she will stand. She has patience and courage and the sense of eternity. She can wait.

No nation has a keener appreciation of justice than has China. It is woven into her philosophy. It is possessed by all classes. In her international relations and in many of her dealings with individual foreigners her sense of justice has been outraged, again and again and again. We have at last carried our insults and our domination too far. She has now taken her stand, and never again will there be peace in the Far East until the Western powers become decent enough to agree to the principles of equality and justice.

That is the real issue—just as simple as that.

New York, N. Y. JAMES M. YARD.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Ecce Homo!

SIR: In the Washington letter in your issue of June 23, T. R. B. says of President Butler of Columbia:

> If there is any man in the country more thoroughly opinionated, more frequently addicted to advising other people as to what is right and what is wrong, more completely convinced of his own superior knowledge and wisdom, and more intolerant of the views of others, I cannot think who he is.

I think I can dispel T. R. B.'s puzzlement, perhaps thus winning his gratitude. Tell him: "Thou art the man!"

I have no idea that you will publish this. High Olympus recks not of the plain dwellers.

Boston, Mass. F. C. SHATTUCK.

Pepper and Prophecy

SIR: After reading Mr. Hartshorne's protest against your article on Pepper and Prophecy, I must confess a belief that it is a much better analysis of the late Pennsylvania primary election than is his protest.

Your statement, "So far as the prohibition issue is concerned, Senator Pepper's chief function in the campaign was to expose the insincerity of its clerical Protestant supporters. Republican prohibitionist clergymen urged Pinchot to withdraw on the pretext that the Governor was dividing the dry vote," was justified by conditions here.

Pinchot had a right to expect the support of every dry voter in the state. During his entire term as Governor he has stood for all that the most rabid dry could ask of a man. Mr. Pepper did not declare himself to be an uncompromising dry, but wilfully straddled the question. In the parts of the state known to be overwhelmingly wet, he tried to leave the voters under the impression that he, at least, was moderately moist. One hundred and fifty clergymen met in Philadelphia and passed a resolution asking Pinchot to withdraw in favor of Pepper. It does not require a seer to realize the effect of such a statement on a great number of voters. They urged a man, who consistently had stood for the entire dry program, to withdraw in favor of a man who did not have the stamina to declare unequivocally just where he did stand.

During the campaign, the anthracite miners worked with vigor for Pinchot in return for his friendly attitude toward them during the recent strike. They did not whine about his having no chance, but they did effective work for his election, with the result that Pinchot carried the counties in which the anthracite mines are located. Had the drys been as consistent all over the state, probably there would be a different aspect to the situation today.

Governor Pinchot in an address before the Christian Endeavor Convention held some time ago related a conversation he had with a prominent Sunday School worker who invariably supported the late Boies Penrose who stood for everything that was bad in politics. The Governor asked him his reason for doing this and the man replied that it was good business to do so.

Big business was solidly behind Pepper as was evidenced by the fund of $1,600,000 that was raised to elect him. During his term as Governor, Pinchot urged the Legislature to pass laws safeguarding the people of the state against monopolistic control of water power in Pennsylvania. His action was immediately denounced by The Manufacturers' Association, The State Bankers' Association and other business organizations, and he never has been forgiven for this recommendation.

The Reed investigation has disclosed the fact that Wayne B. Wheeler of the Anti-Saloon League urged Pennsylvania drys to support Pepper. It also brought out the fact that Mr. Wheeler received a salary of $8,000 per year and that his organization has collected more than $35,000,000 for prohibition work. To great numbers of people of this state, it seems like no mere coincidence that the leaders of the drys decided to support a straddling dry who had the indorsement of big business, as against the most consistent dry ever elected to an office; a man who never failed to give 100 percent service to the dry cause, but who, unfortunately, had secured the enmity of the interests in a position to make large contributions to the dry cause.

In the western part of the state, the Republican machine of Allegheny County supported the candidate who received the approval of the one hundred and fifty clergymen and used every trick a vicious machine could use for his election. It made strenuous appeals to wet voters to support Pepper. Max Leslie, the Republican boss of the county, in speeches made in support of the Pepper-Fisher ticket, placed particular emphasis on his record in the state Senate in opposing all dry legislation. It seemed with pride that he stated he had opposed the ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment and had urged all members of the Allegheny County delegations in the Senate and House to do likewise.

The Pittsburgh Press published lengthy articles during the campaign, in which they gave detailed information about vice and violations of law being permitted to flourish and openly charged that it was done for political reasons. The police made no raids during the campaign for violations of the state enforcement act. In fact, nearly all saloons and booze clubs in Pittsburgh displayed only Pepper-Fisher campaign posters in their windows. The political gangsters of the county were doing all of this in the interest of the candidate supported by the one hundred and fifty clergymen.

Mr. Hartshorne seems to think the cause of good government was upheld in the nomination of Mr. Fisher for Governor. Mr. Grundy, President of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Association, testifying before the Reed investigation, stated that his organization had opposed Mr. Fisher's opponent, Mr. Beidleman, because the latter was in favor of a capital stock tax obnoxious to the members of his Association. He also stated that he, personally, had indorsed $80,000 worth of debts for the campaign and expected to get it back again from the members of his organization.

The votes of the Allegheny County gangsters elected Mr. Fisher. This gang to date never seems to have evinced any interest in good government where it has the power to give it. Anyone who can discern any triumph of good government in the election of Fisher, is a simon-pure optimist.

Pittsburgh, Pa. JOHN EVANS.

Duplicating Titles

SIR: It is but a few months since a well known firm of London publishers, enjoying a deserved reputation for scrupulous care, brought out The Singing Man and Other Poems by Helen Manley Howard, both publisher and author evidently unaware that the title had been chosen a number of years ago by Josephine Preston Peabody, for The Singing Man, a Book of Songs. And the writer is not unknown in England. If I remember aright it was in Stratford Memorial Theatre that she herself directed the first performance of The Pied Piper.

Now we have The Fountain of Eugene O'Neill, produced in all innocence of the fact that this is the unforgettable title of a play of ten years ago by the late George Calderon, not only frequently performed in London, but sufficiently popular as a reading play to reach a sixpenny edition audience. It has even been performed in this country, if not on the commercial stage, by little theatre companies.

Both the earlier and the later writer must suffer from such confusion, while librarians and indexers are left utterly at sea. Would the closer scanning of publishers' lists, and especially bibliographies and official lists prove a remedy?

Chicago, Ill. ALICE HENRY.

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Sheridan to Robertson

Sheridan to Robertson. A Study of the Nineteenth-Century London Stage, by Ernest Bradlee Watson. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 485 pages. $5.

ONE of the startling phenomena of literary history is the descent of the drama in England from its glorious height in the seventeenth century to its dejection in the nineteenth. Yet at the time when by common agreement the English stage was at its lowest ebb, the number of men and women connected with it, as actors, managers, playwrights and critics whose names are famous and constantly recalled with admiration and affection, is extraordinarily large. In the early years of the century stand those of Mrs. Siddons, the Kembles, Edmund Kean, Douglas Jerrold, Charles Lamb and Hazlitt. In the next generation appear Macready, Phelps, Buckstone, Mme. Vestris and Charles Mathews, Charles Kean and Dion Boucicault, Bulwer-Lytton, Talfourd and Browning; and still later we have Tom Taylor, Sothern, and the Bancrofts and Robertson from whose conjunction it is customary to date the rebirth of the English drama. The explanation lies in the fact that the English theatre was an institution, like the English Church, and possessed the peculiar vitality and the power of attracting devotion which belongs to institutions. It was an institution, moreover, which had come to belong to the London democracy as the circus to the Roman populace. This fact explains its appeal which was shared by its ministrants, and its stubborn resistance to change. The English playgoer went to the theatre to see certain things done in ways hallowed by tradition, and he felt the disturbance to settled habit at any variation, much as Anglican worshipers felt outraged when the Anglo-Catholics altered the chancel scene by introducing the altar, and enlarged the scope of the ritual. It was an instinctive movement in defense of its privileges which led the patrons of the pit to riot for sixty-one nights against Kemble's effort at Covent Garden to raise the price of seats by sixpence; and to hiss off the boards the French company which tried to appear in Monte Cristo at Drury Lane in 1848.

The history of this institution through the first two-thirds of the century Doctor Watson narrates with admirable clearness of outline and lavish fulness of detail. It is a history of the theatre, not of the drama. As Doctor Watson remarks: "The expression medium of drama is capable of more tyrannical control of the written drama than corresponding media can have of other literary forms." By virtue of its institutional consecration the stage exerted in this period a more tyrannical control over the literary drama than either before or since. It inherited the plays of the past, chiefly Shakespeare, to which its resources were historically adapted. Undoubtedly Mr. Shaw is partly right in attributing to the richness of this tradition the conspicuous failure of contemporary literature or poetry to gain a foothold on the stage. There were other reasons, recognized by criticism of the time cited by Doctor Watson, such as the greater appeal of the novel to a widely scattered public. But if Doctor Watson can subordinate the play in his narrative, he is able to give the more attention to other elements which enter into theatrical production, to the successful fusion of which the drama as literature was later to respond. No reader of his book will be inclined to dispute his statement: "The dramatic art of this period, if not the expression of great literary vitality, deserves none the less to be studied in all its aspects as a most significant phenomenon in dramatic evolution."

The similarity of the London theatre as an institution to the organization of English religion is borne out by its division into legitimate and illegitimate, corresponding to that between establishment and dissent. The legitimate drama found its home in the two play houses patented at the Restoration, Drury Lane and Covent Garden. Here only could spoken drama be presented in the winter season. In 1807 there were eight minor theatres which were allowed to produce entertainments of various sorts, which might approximate the play if enough songs were interspersed and a piano kept accompaniment to the dialogue, subject to licensing by the Lord Chamberlain. The Haymarket, where Fielding had brought this censorship upon the English drama by his Aristophanic satire of ministers of state, was allowed to encroach upon the patents of the major theatres by the extension of its summer season, ultimately to ten months. Naturally there was war between the privileged aristocracy of Drury Lane and Covent Garden, and the minor playhouses. The latter came as near as the complacency of the authorities would allow to the spoken drama, and the former thought it no shame to buttress the waning popularity of their Shakespearian repertoire by the pantomime, burlesque and equestrian exhibitions which were the natural resources of their rivals. It was at Covent Garden in 1837 and at Drury Lane in 1841 that Macready made his heroic offensive in behalf of the poetic drama, to which Bulwer-Lytton contributed The Lady of Lyons and Richelieu, and Browning, Strafford and the Blot in the 'Scutcheon. In 1843 the monopoly of the patent houses was abolished; and as it happened one of the minor theatres, Sadler's Wells, previously renowned for the tank dramas to which the abundant water supply invited the management, became under Phelps the home of Shakespeare and the poetic drama.

The minor theatres are responsible for the development in the English stage which Doctor Watson traces with beautiful precision. This development was in its essence the breaking of stereotype and tradition and the substitution of real character and English life. In it Mme. Vestris and Charles Mathews took a leading part. The former leased the Olympic Theatre in 1831, and was joined by Mathews four years later. She was allowed to produce only light musical comedy of the type called burlettas, but in them, to quote Doctor Watson: "For the first time in the century there was made . . . an attempt in costumes, scenery and acting, to reproduce the appearance and manners of contemporary life." In 1839 she leased Covent Garden and there on March 4, 1841, produced Boucicault's London Assurance. Boucicault was the Belasco of those days. He went in strongly for realism of stage effects, city streets with real street lamps, hansom cabs, electric moons and the like. He forwarded the vogue of melodrama, which was replacing the classics, but within its extravagances of plot he framed real persons. This naturally led to the innovation of engaging actors for the several parts, instead of writing the parts to meet the resources of an established company. The resemblance to Belasco appears again in the fact that in his innovation he was interpreting wishes and tastes of the public of which it was only vaguely aware. "Boucicault and the English-speaking public, then, may be said to have coöperated in perfect harmony, with the result that there came into existence a more naturalized drama than had been seen previously during the century." Another influence to which Doctor Watson gives weight was Fechter's pres-

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entation of Hamlet in his own modern melodramatic style, thus attacking stage convention in its holy of holies and breaking the most sacred of stereotypes.

Recognizing these influences toward realism, Doctor Watson subtracts considerably from the credit which critics, following M. A. Filon, have given to Robertson for the reform of the English stage. No less than three times does our author repeat the fact that Robertson was prompter for Charles Mathews. Nevertheless the leasing of the Prince of Wales's theatre by Marie Wilton in 1865, her assembling of a company which included Bancroft and Hare, and her association with Robertson as playwright brought to a focus all the progressive tendencies of the time. The importance of the Prince of Wales's theatre did not lie in the pallid little dramas, Caste, Society, Ours, which Robertson wrote for it. It did not lie in the snowstorm in Ours which represented the highest point of illusion of the actual which stage setting had attained. It did lie in "the spirit of freshness in utilizing accumulated advantages, and a spirit of war upon imitation and tradition," in "the disposition to approach their materials from a wholly new point of view; a determination to shape these materials, and not to be shaped by them."

Refusing to grant the extreme claims to innovation made in behalf of Robertson, Doctor Watson disposes of the vulgar error of the sordidness and squalor of the pre-Robertson stage, a belief which he attributes to the partisanship of Clement Scott. He disposes of another to the effect that the connection with the French stage was a retarding influence on the growth of the English drama. On the contrary, French melodrama and farce offered the frame in which English audiences could see themselves, and men like them, on the stage, learn what they really wanted to see there, and substitute a realistic appreciation of it for the perfunctory attendance upon the ritual of Shakespeare.

Mr. Kenneth Macgowan has acutely remarked that the two chief influences upon the modern stage have been Karl Marx and Thomas A. Edison—the former because he set in movement a current of social ideas which gave interest and importance to the stage as a place of discussion, the latter because by the invention of the incandescent lamp he revealed the possibility of lighting the stage from every angle and making it a flexible instrument in the hands of the artist for the support of the play. Neither of these influences appeared until long after Robertson. Scene and actor were still subjected to the spectral unreality of the footlights, and thought was subordinate to the convention of the well made play. This is the ghastly phenomenon of the English drama both before and after Robertson—its utter intellectual poverty. "That Robertson did not possess the genius of Shakespeare, or Dryden, or Congreve, or Sheridan, is a negligible platitude." It is not, however, with these men that we compare him, but with his contemporaries, Augier, Dumas fils, Feuillet and Sardou. The mental meagreness of Robertson appears clearly when we compare his timid and tepid Home with Augier's vigorous L'Aventurière of which it was an adaptation. Nor do the playwrights of the succeeding generation show much gain, Byron and Sidney Grundy, Pinero and Henry Arthur Jones. The last, who depreciates Robertson and seems to date the Renaissance of the English drama from his own Saints and Sinners in 1887, merely emphasizes his lack of ideas by pretentiousness. It was for another foreign influence, that of Ibsen, to fill the vessel which Robertson had molded but left empty, with good wine of the mind. And it is one of the ironical circumstances which give zest to human affairs that the Robertsonians, chief among them Clement Scott, were the great obstacle to the drama of ideas in their effort to preserve the mawkish and sentimental attitude toward mother, home and heaven which Robertson and his followers had done nothing to disturb. As Mr. Scott lied cheerfully about the deficiencies of the pre-Robertsonian stage, in order to exaggerate the pretensions of Robertson, so he lied savagely to maintain those pretensions as sacrosanct. It is to him that we must attribute the worst of those amenities of dramatic criticism, whereby Ibsen is qualified as "a crazy fanatic," a "determined Socialist," and further as "abominable, disgusting, bestial, fetid, loathsome, putrid, crapulous, offensive, scandalous, repulsive, revolting, blasphemous, abhorrent, degrading, unwholesome, sordid, foul, filthy, malodorous, noisome, dull, dreary, dirty, dismal and dead," all of which Mr. Archer has collected in his Ibsen mausoleum.

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT.

True to Title

International Relations, by Raymond Leslie Buell. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 768 pages. $5.

WHILE calm and objective in tone and reliable in substance, this book is in a sense revolutionary by virtue of the mode of approach to the field. The usual treatise on international relations has been a narrative compendium of facts concerning concerts of powers, international alliances, treaties, international crises, European congresses and warlike encounters. The intrigues and anecdotes associated with individual diplomats have loomed large in such manuals and have gobbled a major portion of the space. There has been little indication of the conflicting pressures exerted by a number of dynamic national groups driven forward by patriotic pride, racial arrogance and economic greed or necessity. Nor has there been any fundamental treatment of the vital factors operating to effect an adjustment of these contending international interests and to secure a pacific outcome of the contacts between modern states. On the other side, we have had the technical treatises on international law which are consciously and correctly limited to a juridical analysis of the legal basis of particular types of international contacts and make no pretension to dealing with the broad field of the general intercourse of states.

The present work is of another sort. It is organized strictly around the outstanding trends in the international intercourse of contemporary political societies, and the factual details are subordinated to the larger problems of analysis and interpretation. At the same time, it is no mere theoretical treatise, undisciplined by cogent data. The facts are here in great plenty, but they illuminate rather than overwhelm or obscure. Prominent personalities are mentioned when relevant, but are considered in relation to the larger issues under analysis. In other words, Doctor Buell has been consistent with the title of his work, and has produced a treatise on "international relations":

> I have attempted to approach the subject of international relations, not from the viewpoint of contemporary events, diplomatic history, personal politics, or even international organization, but to approach it from the viewpoint of political science—to begin where international law leaves off. The hypothesis upon which I have proceeded is that a field of international relations exists which is almost as distinct from inter-

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national law as the study of American government is from constitutional law.

For the execution of a book of this type Doctor Buell was well prepared by bibliographic work, extensive reading, first-hand contact through travel, unusual industriousness and intellectual integrity and courage. The product measures up to legitimate expectations.

The book is divided into three major sections. The first treats of nationalism in its various aspects and of the manifold forces and factors making for internationalism, such as the attitude of labor towards international relations, the protection of minorities, international confederations, and international control of multifarious humanitarian issues. The second part takes up imperialism in its diverse forms of expression, and indicates certain symptoms of a transformation of exploitation into trusteeship. The concluding portion of the work deals with the various methods utilized or proposed for settling international disputes. Here are considered war, with its indeterminate futilities and its enormous expenses, limitation of armament, international sanctions, the outlawry of war, the World Court, international conferences, the League of Nations, and leading methods of controlling and directing international policy in the chief types of states in the world. The scope of the book is, thus, thoroughly comprehensive, and the arrangement logical. There is a certain amount of artificiality in the separation of the several aspects of nationalism into distinct chapters, and something might have been gained in sequence of thought and development through a rearrangement of the order of the chapters in part three of the book, but on the whole the work is clearly constructed and forcefully expressed. There is a fairly extensive and well chosen bibliography.

There is no space here for a detailed summary of a book which covers so vast a field; all that can be done is to indicate the general attitude of the writer towards some of the major problems dealt with in his treatise. In the first place, Doctor Buell is not a propagandist but a compiler and an analyst. Like all civilized persons, he is a constructive internationalist at heart, but he is not unaware of the difficulties involved in bringing about a sane international order, and he has no naïve faith in the efficacy of any one scheme for "perpetual peace." While recognizing the merits in the plea for "national self-determination," he understands that the line must be drawn somewhere unless one desires veritable international anarchy. Political union with cultural autonomy seems a reasonable solution. He understands that no amount of pious wishing will put an end to imperialism with modern economic life organized as it is and with the ever growing demand for raw materials and markets. The remedy lies in persistent efforts to control and mitigate imperialistic exploitation. Here the mandate principle seems to offer some promise as a mode of providing for the development of real trusteeship, in spite of such substantial departures from the principles and practices of trusteeship as the conduct of the French in Syria since the War. Doctor Buell exposes thoroughly the fallacy of the "balance of power" conception as a mode of preventing war. He likewise indicates the futility of talk about disarmament unless it is accompanied by a spirit of international coöperation and conciliation. He repudiates by adequate concrete data the naïve dogma so popular a few years ago to the effect that democracy is a sure and comprehensive panacea against war. In dealing with the League of Nations he confines himself chiefly to an objective and informing account of the historical development and actual machinery of the League, but his attitude is the judicious one manifested in the following paragraph, the spirit of which is characteristic of the work as a whole:

> The League of Nations is a mere instrumentality which will serve the cause of peace or of war according to the spirit which actuates its members. At the same time, the mere existence of international machinery will elevate this spirit, simply by bringing the nations of the world together in periodic conferences, out of which an international point of view will inevitably be evolved. The adoption of this point of view will not lead to the destruction of nationality. On the contrary, by removing the fear of war and by promoting mutual coöperation, it will facilitate a development of the finest fruits of nationality, a thing which has been impossible in the past.

The defects of the book are those inherent in the author's training and teaching experience. These have fallen chiefly at Princeton and Harvard. Here, in spite of such notable exceptions as Professor Holcombe, diplomacy and political science are viewed as juridically immaculate fields in which the actors move solemnly in a metaphysical vacuum unspotted and unstained by geographical setting, economic motives or social pressure. The wonder is that Doctor Buell has escaped to so salutary a degree from this respectable view of world affairs, and has given us a relatively realistic study. Nevertheless, it must be held that the weak spots in his work are the complete ignoring of the geographical factor in international relations, the inadequate consideration of economic forces, and the general innocence of sociological elements, such as De Greef's important sociological study of frontiers. Yet the book is an excellent one and should constitute a landmark in the textbook equipment of the teacher of political science who desires to look beyond the customs officials and lighthouse tenders of his own beloved land. We may expect in the forthcoming book by Prof. Parker T. Moon the indispensable historical supplement to Doctor Buell's analytical manual.

HARRY ELMER BARNES.

Tigers, Draught-Horses and Rabbits

The Book of the Rogue: Studies of Famous Scoundrels, Selected by Joseph Lewis French. New York: Boni and Liveright. 399 pages. $3.

The Newgate Calendar: Comprising Interesting Memoirs of the Most Notorious Characters who have been convicted of Outrages on the Laws of England. With Speeches, Confessions, and Last Exclamations of Sufferers. Hartford: Edwin Valentine Mitchell. $3.50.

A RASCAL of the first water is always honored, if he takes pride in his work and is no bungler. Half-rogues, wavering between their desires and their scruples, get short shrift; a pure rogue becomes a Great Man. In his youth society has told him, without a wink, that if he is a good little boy all his life he will grow rich. But if he is awed by this and obediently takes his place in the harness, society rewards him with lip-praise and secret contempt. If he thumbs his nose at his teachers and has the native talents to keep himself out of jail, the flock on which he preys regards him with open-mouthed

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admiration. It knights a competent pirate, elects an expert murderer Pope, and crowns a ruthless general emperor. The only condition exacted by a hero-worshiping world is that the man-eater be without remorse. In his history the average reader finds the daring he secretly envies, and the literary artist fingers the curious grain of human nature, hidden under the paint of education in the majority of compromising bipeds.

So Carlyle apostrophized Cagliostro the quack in terms fit for a demi-god. "Unparalleled Cagliostro! . . . warring against the world, and indeed conquering the world, for it remained thy tributary." The old Scotch moralist in Carlyle was troubled at writing the life of a rascal; but the artist in him was delighted by a man unfolding one by one his peculiar potentialities, to the perfection of a type. Both Carlyle and Cagliostro realized that justice was a word without any content for the human race. Admiration and rewards were distributed not for conscientious endeavor, but were payable at sight on the presentation of talent. When the talent is successful enough, its owner may forget about the negative virtues. The men who built the present industrial magnificence of America knew this.

The Book of the Rogue contains the stories of a handful of these men without scruples, and from the adoration the world has given those who bled it, a shrewd reader may draw some hints about himself. The number of genuine tigers is surprisingly small. Several turn out, in their repentances, to have been sheep who had stumbled into tigers' skins. But besides Cagliostro, by Carlyle, there are the Borgias, melodramatized by Dumas. The sack of Panama, by Sir Henry Morgan, is told by an eye-witness, details of cruelty carefully noted. There is a biography of Jonathan Wilde, who ruled over the criminal world of London, and William Ireland's proud account of how he came to perpetrate the largest and most skilful Shakespearean forgery ever attempted. These are men to whom danger was an appetizer. Our syndicated philosophers, university presidents and idealists have almost persuaded us that we are all draught-horses by nature, though we have the proof to the contrary within us. An occasional jolt, such as the reading of this book, will remind us that there are tigers in the pack as well as lynxes and jackals.

In the Newgate Calendar there are no tigers, but pitiable, frightened rabbits, driven in their corners into petty thievery and furtive murders. They were rounded up by law-trimming jackals and treated with indiscriminate cruelty. A woman out of work was hanged for stealing a watch. An unskilful swindler was stripped of his shirt and given the knout. During the eighteenth century there were one hundred and sixty offenses punishable with death in England. Crowds turned out to get drunk and cheer at the executions, and the last words of victims were passed around with the same licking of chops which accompanies their publication in the press today. Knowing the taste for such tidbits, the two attorney-authors of the Newgate Calendar prepared a choice assortment of thievings, murders, rapes and sadistic cruelties, drawing on the Sessions Papers of the Old Bailey and other more informal sources. At the end of each incident a panic-stricken or defiant, and sometimes intoxicated rabbit dangled in a noose. Then our attorneys attached a moral. Honesty, they murmured, was the best policy.

No civilized person can read this record without shuddering at the gross stupidity with which law and order were maintained. There was apparently no discrimination for first offenses, and no difference was seen between premeditated crime and impulsive or even unwitting acts. A young girl gave her sick father a powder she had been told would make him better. It turned out in fact to have been poison, and the heartbroken girl was hanged on the unanswerable grounds that though she might not have intended it, she had caused his death. Justice at Newgate was clearly "what you do to the unfortunate."

We are only beginning today to realize that any other point of view is possible.

LAWRENCE S. MORRIS.

The Private Life of Jean Racine

The Life of Racine, by Mary Duclaux. New York: Harper and Brothers. 256 pages. $4.

WHAT Lytton Strachey, in a really illuminating essay, brought home to English readers concerning Racine the artist, Madame Duclaux to a lesser extent brings home concerning the man. It was of significance to learn he was not a dull poet; it is at least gratifying to find he was not a dull man. Those who have been tardily set aright regarding the author of Phèdre and Athalie, who have been awakened from a misconception and charmed by the truth, will want to know something of the devout Jansenist, the lover of Du Parc and Champesle, the wholesome paterfamilias. They catch him here, as clearly and comprehensibly as can be expected, in a biography little burdened by criticism, and where such criticism as exists is the one inadequate element.

Though Madame Duclaux fails to say so, how clear it is that Racine was a man of his age. He did not rise above it, but subsisted in it characteristically and conventionally, and even the revolts and moral failings of his youth have an aspect of normality: in religion, he fell away from the strict Jansenism in which he had been bred; in private life, he took a requisite number of mistresses and apparently made one of them his secret wife; in literary dispute, he found recourse in sarcastic epigrams; even in art, though he wrote with individual genius, he wrote much as one of the younger generation, opposed to the moribund "classicism" of Corneille. Religion, patriotism, admiration for Louis XIV he had always; and during an age when the world-weary great folk turned at middle life to monasteries and convents, he forswore the secular stage at thirty-eight, married a woman as plain as she was good, became reconciled with the strict Jansenists, and together with his good friend Boileau, turned court historiographer. Esther and Athalie, the two plays he wrote subsequently, are religious in theme.

But, as Madame Duclaux reveals, there were twists in Racine which kept him from being happy, and which keep him now from being dull. The writer in him was all vanity, and trifling dramatic mishaps threw him into tempers; the life he led when young brought disillusionments, and no amount of piety or personal reformation could quite soften them. For me at least Madame Duclaux is a trifle too sympathetic in her approach to Racine, but she is scrupulous with her facts, so that, if we judge by the facts and share the author's attitude only where it suits us, the portrait manages to be very adequate. She is not a distinguished writer, but she is an engaging one, and she makes the most of her piquant interludes—the fiasco of Phèdre when a hostile duchess bought out the theatre and left it vacant night after night; the anachron-

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istic great poison case in which Racine was involved, something too mediæval even for Racine's age; the comic tragedy Boileau made of losing his voice; the spectacle of Racine, as royal historiographer, following Louis XIV over half the battlefields of Europe. These are pleasant moments, and they come fairly often. It is only as critic of the plays that Madame Duclaux is not very satisfactory. Most of her criticism is made en passant and says next to nothing; but the appraising Epilogue, just because it says next to nothing and yet runs to some pages, says too much. The book, however, should be regarded as almost pure biography, more in the modern than the orthodox manner, and all in all, as good biography. It does more than interest us in a dull Racine; it proves that he was interesting.

LOUIS KRONENBERGER.

Jews in Three Moods

The Tents of Jacob, by Hyman Cohen. New York: Robert McBride and Company. $2.50.

Jacob's Well, by Pierre Benoit. Translated by Angelo S. Rappoport. New York: International Publishers. $2.

Miranda Masters, by John Cournos. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. $2.50.

WHOEVER it was that said all Jews wrote alike would have his theory disproved by these three books. For they demonstrate as well as any I know the fact that Jews not only do not write alike, but that they write like the respective Americans, Frenchmen and Englishmen they have become. They show, too, that while Jews may write fine literature, they are also capable of writing drivel; and that when a Jew loses his sense of humor and gets wrapped up in Cause, he is somewhat more ludicrous than his Gentile brethren. Witness:

Doctor Cohen is a moralist; and it is a pity that such fine material as that from which The Tents of Jacob was written should be so abused and wasted. For the Jewish life in the Russian village of Zemliana is richly colorful and fascinating; but the author has spoiled its charm by an unconvincing and unnecessary plot, and by a style in which much fine writing is buried among hopeless and inexcusable clichés. Had the book been liberally blue-penciled before publication, it might have been as fine a picture of Jewish life as has been written in many years. As it is, the characters do not live, the story moves without developing, and the distribution of rewards for virtue and punishments for iniquity at the end of the book cannot help being absurd. And it might have been a great book. . . .

Pierre Benoit is a Zionist; and if one must have propaganda in fiction, I suppose Jacob's Well is what one may expect. The book seems—despite the machinations of the translator and the compositor—to be written in a fairly civilized and sophisticated manner. And the story of the prostitute who sold her body in Paris—at a fabulous price—in order that an undeserving Zionist colony in Palestine might live is a readable yarn, although the author can hardly hope that it will convince or convert anyone above the age of seven.

But John Cournos is an artist, even to his irritating mannerisms; and his book was a welcome relief in that it had no Cause to advance. It is a better piece of writing and observation than he has ever given us before. His people are individuals, and the things that happen to them have validity by virtue of their truth. While the book is obviously a sequel to Babel, it is a complete novel in itself; and for the first time John Gombarov shares the central interest of the book with another character.

Miranda Masters is a beautiful woman poet who is perpetually tantalizing herself and those about her in her desperate attempts at psychic adjustment. In portraying her Cournos has made some psychological observations so keen and profound that I daresay he himself is not aware of them. And condemn her as one may and as the author does, one cannot help feeling profoundly sorry for her, for her husband, and for all the others involved in the emotional mêlée which is the motive force of the book.

For the mêlée is significant. In it are sensitive people who are sophisticated and emancipated. While they have abandoned conventional moralities, they are anything but wanton. In fact, they are pathetically sincere in their attempts at building up a new code of ethics to replace the old. And they are thwarted by their own idealism, by their consideration for each other, and by chance accidents over which they have no control: accidents such as occur in everyday life.

The book is packed with keen observations: the refusal of the English public to drink good German wine; the case of Arnold Masters, a conscientious objector who became a model British soldier and patriot; Miranda's confiding in Gombarov, whom she does not love, and giving herself to a painter whom she loves even less merely to spite her husband, at the same time demanding that Arnold be worthy of her; and her final realization—implied rather than stated—that only by being true to the best within her can she be worthy of herself and of the respect of her friends.

It is not a great book; but it is a faithful reflection of its chaotic time. And in a day of shifting standards, it attains rather more universality than the author realizes.

WALTER F. KOHN.

Art Studies

Art Studies: Mediaeval Renaissance and Modern, Edited by members of the Departments of Fine Arts at Harvard and Princeton Universities. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 163 pages.

THESE art studies appear every year: they are excellent examples of book-making, printing, illustration and scholarly research. Each contribution is a small monograph, on such specific problems as the Chalice of Antioch, an Unpublished Painting in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, an Unknown Pieta, by Michelangelo; an evidence, therefore, of the diligent and austere spade-work that is now being done in Princeton and Harvard, among other places, in æsthetic scholarship. The subjects themselves are of uneven importance; and this fact points to the weakness of the scholarly tradition by which these excellent researches are guided. Any subject that can be studied carefully, that brings forth a new fact, that offers an opportunity for erudite discriminations may find a place in such a book; accordingly, we find an exhaustive article on the work of a quite third-rate sculptor named Martin Millmore, whose chief distinction was that he was an American, in a period when sculpture itself was in a low way, and American art even lower. This sort of pious resurrection would not in itself be mischievous, were it not for the fact that, in order to bring out the virtues of a Millmore, the critic is driven to rhapsodize over the sobriety—that is, the painful, spinsterly sterility—of

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the American tradition in art, in contrast to the "excitement," the "voluptuousness," and the "sensationalism" of France. If this sort of æsthetic discrimination becomes popular it will be easy to show that S. F. B. Morse was a greater painter than Ingres, because he did not paint any odalisques, or at any rate we may bolster up the weaknesses of our own artists by finding them "our most precious æsthetic possessions." One could wish that monographs of this sort were printed in a less sumptuous and authoritative way: they would then serve as useful historical documents, and would not have to justify their existence in a series of art studies.

Art Through the Ages: An Introduction to its History and Significance, by Helen Gardner. 675 illustrations. New York: Harcourt Brace and Company. 506 pages. $4.

WHAT is the ideal handbook on art? It is one that includes all countries, it touches on all the arts, it points to where the significant pieces lie; it gives examples of each kind of work; it helps one to discover further sources and commentaries—and it does not kill the interest it should properly stimulate, or obscure the facts themselves in a wrapper of second, or tenth hand judgments. Art Through the Ages satisfies most of these requirements, and, doing so, performs a useful function. If it fails at any point, it is by attempting more than the job requires, that is, by adding appreciation and criticism to the description, historical analysis and qualification. To catalogue everything, to dwell on everything, to appreciate everything—frankly, that is more than the human mind has shown a capacity for doing in the figure of one person. Even Elie Faure's intuitions are serviceable only for cultures and periods in which he has been deeply saturated. For all that a descriptive guide book can properly do, Miss Gardner's survey is excellent; and he who asks more from it, does not know the essential limitations of books.

LEWIS MUMFORD.

Be Good, Sweet Maid

Women in Journalism, by Genevieve Jackson Boughner. New York: D. Appleton and Company. 348 pages. $2.50.

HERE is an excellent handbook for young women who aspire to be hack writers. It adequately describes the way in which society editors shall toady, sob sisters shall sob, and the fashion writer be a good handmaiden to sales. Women can earn their livings in the American newspaper business today as mother-confessors to the lovelorn, as writers of success stories, as shoppers, as "philosophers," as "political writers." Mrs. Boughner, who was formerly instructor in Journalism at the University of Wisconsin, and in the University of Minnesota, has taken great pains in listing the jobs that we women journalists are holding and have held. She mentions hundreds of names and omits the particular few who arouse any sex pride in this particular reviewer. She devotes no chapter to general news reporting. Eleanor Booth Simmons's ironical style on the old Sun is apparently unknown to her, and Janet Stewart's record as managing editor of the Philadelphia North American. She writes of magazine editors without mentioning Gertrude Lane of the Woman's Home Companion. Very well, but when she writes of the pioneer women journalists and does not know that Margaret Fuller is the only one distinguished among men as well as women for foreign correspondence, political reporting and literary criticism, she invites complaint. Hitch your apple cart to a hitching post is good advice to compliant females in schools of journalism but the followers of such advice clear no roads for others, and attain no heights in the art of journalism. Nevertheless, this is a book that all young women journalists should buy. It gives an extraordinarily depressing picture of the sprightly blah and melancholy mush for which there is a market. It makes keeping house and being supported seem an adventure beside the cramped world of a writing desk.

E. E.

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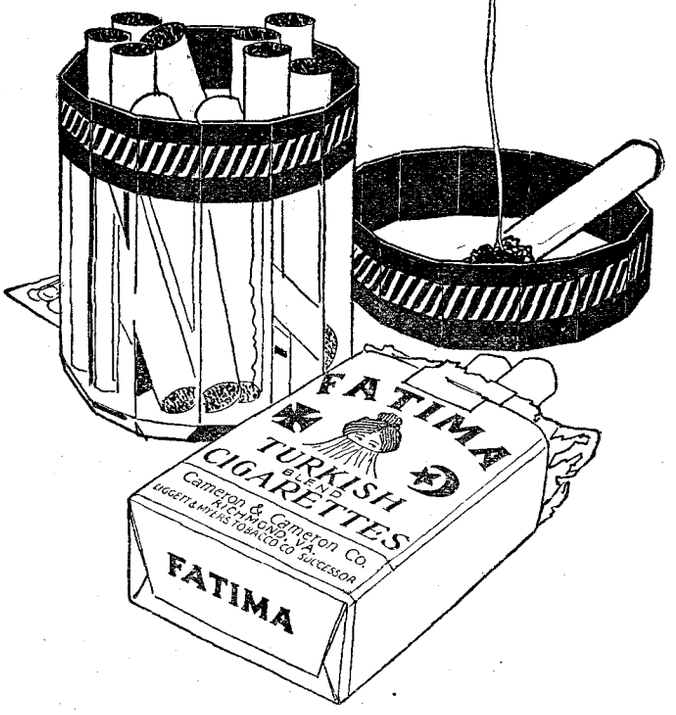

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